

Vijaynagar Empire

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

I. THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

THE NORTHERN INVASIONS

THE RISE OF VIJAYANAGARA¹ EMPIRE was one of those sudden revolutions which have been so frequently seen to spring from the troubled current of political events. It was the result of the tremendous Hindu reaction against the Turkish (*Turushka*) domination of the Deccan and South India during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.²

1 Called Bijanagar by Muslim chroniclers, Bizenegalia by Conti, Bichenegher by Nikitin, and Bisnaga or Narasinga by Portuguese writers. The empire was called after the name of the imperial city of Vijayanagara. It is in ruins today on the site of Hampi. See Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*.

2 The following abbreviations have been used in this chapter:

ASI	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report</i> (1887 onwards).
Barani	Ziyyauddin Barani, <i>Turikh-i-Firuz Shahi</i> , Bib. Ind. New Series, XXXIII. Extracts in English in ED, III.
Commentaries	Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque the Great (Hakluyt Ed., 3 vols.)
EC	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i> (1866 onwards)
ED	Elliot and Dowson, <i>The History of India as told by its own historians</i> .
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> (1892 onwards).
EMESI	<i>The Early Muslim Expansion in South India</i> by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Madras University).
Ferishta (Briggs)	Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, <i>Turikh-i Ferishta</i> , (Lucknow Text). Translated into English by John Briggs under the title <i>A History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the year 1612</i> , 4 vols.
FE	<i>A Forgotten Empire</i> by Robert Sewell (Reprint, 1924).
Further Sources	<i>Further Sources of Vijayanagara History</i> by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Madras University).
HISI	<i>The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India</i> by Robert Sewell (Madras University).
IA	<i>The Indian Antiquary</i> .
IHQ	<i>The Indian Historical Quarterly</i> .
JAHS	<i>The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</i> .

On the eve of Alauddin Khalji's invasion of the Deccan in 1294, there were four great Hindu dynasties ruling over the territories south of the Vindhya. The Yadavas of Devagiri were masters of the whole of the western Deccan from the Tapti to the Krishna; the Kakatiyas of Warangal ruled over the eastern Deccan. In the days of Prataparudra, their kingdom included almost the whole of the present Rayalasima, excluding the southern taluqs of Chittoor and the western taluqs of Anantapur and Bellary districts, and in the south it almost touched Kanchi. The Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra and the Pandyas of Madura divided between themselves the rest of the peninsula. Besides these four great Hindu states, there were a number of petty principalities subordinate to one or the other of them. One such feudatory state was Kampili in the Raichur Doab, which owed allegiance to the Yadavas of Devagiri.³

JASB	<i>Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
JBORS	<i>The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.</i>
JBRAS	<i>Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JII	<i>Journal of Indian History.</i>
JOR	<i>Journal of Oriental Research.</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i>
LR	<i>Local Records.</i>
MAR	<i>Mysore Archaeological Reports.</i>
MER	<i>Madras Epigraphical Reports</i> (The inscriptions of the Report are indicated as 64 of 1916; 57 of 1901 etc.).
<i>Nellore Inscriptions</i>	A Collection of the Inscriptions on copperplates and stones in the Nellore District (3 vols.) by Allan Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.
OH.Mss.	<i>Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language</i> by Rev. William Taylor.
QJMS	<i>The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.</i>
Saiyyid Ali	Saiyyid Ali Azizullah bin Tabataba: <i>Burhan-i Ma'asir</i> . Translated into English under the title of <i>The History of the Bahmani Dynasty</i> by Major J. S. King. (<i>The Indian Antiquary</i> , Vols. 28 and 29. References are to its reprint by Luzac & Co., 1900).
SGO	<i>The Suryavansi Gajapati of Orissa</i> by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.
SH	<i>South Indian Inscriptions.</i>
SPLVE	<i>Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire</i> (2 vols.) by Dr. B. A. Salatore.
<i>Sources</i>	<i>Sources of Vijayanagar History</i> compiled by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati and edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras University).
SHTDV	<i>Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara</i> by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.
TTDI	<i>Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.</i>
VSCV	<i>Vijayanagara Six-Centenary Commemoration Volume.</i>

Financially all these states were well off; the kings possessed immense riches; their coffers were full of diamonds, pearls, and gold; agriculture and commerce were in a flourishing condition; the capital cities were great centres of trade and civilization; seaports like Kaval and Mothpali were visited by merchants from Arabia, Persia, and China; the coastline extending from Quilon to Nellore was called in Arabic *Ma'abar* i.e. a passage; here arrived the curiosities of Chin and Machin (China and greater China) and the products of Hind and Sind, laden in large ships sailing like mountains with the wings of winds on the surface of water.⁴

In religion the external manifestations were quite pleasing. Every South Indian prince considered it meritorious to build temples and to endow them richly. The famous shrines of Mahabalipuram, Kanchi, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Tanjore, Madura and other places in the south bear witness to the pious activities of generations of rulers. These temples were great centres of learning and culture, where knowledge was imparted to the pupils from far off lands. Their accumulated wealth was the pride of South India. There was complete religious freedom and even Arab and Persian Muslims were allowed to settle and pursue their own callings at Kaval, Kandur (Kannanur) and Honavar, without any molestation on the part of the Hindu rulers of the land.

But, unfortunately, the clash of interests of rival dynasties rendered harmonious progress of the country impossible. The Yadavas against the Kakatiyas, the Kakatiyas against the Pandyas, the Pandyas against the Hoysalas and the Hoysalas against the Yadavas carried on generations of warfare with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Their conflicting ambitions were so patent that the contemporary poet, Amir Khusrau, remarked that Devagiri and *Ma'abar* were Hoysala Ballala III's quarry.⁵ While Muslim forces were delivering shattering blows at the Yadavas and the Kakatiyas, this Hoysala sovereign more than once attacked the chief of Kampili,⁶ and even tried to take advantage of the fratricidal war in the Pandyan kingdom.⁷ Their mutual animosities had taken such deep roots that even in the face of foreign invasions they could not eschew their quarrels and present a united front against their common foe. They had to be wiped out completely and a new set of heroes had to take up the leadership before the country could be rescued from the

4 Wassaf's *Tazjyatul Amsar*, etc., ED, III, 32.

5 Khusrau, JIH, IX, 55.

6 MAR for 1912, 45; for 1923, 119; and EC, VIII, No. 19.

7 Wassaf, ED, III, 52-54; Khusrau: JIH, IX, 56.

slough of political degradation into which it had been betrayed by its old masters.

This revolutionary change was forced on the land by the Muslim invaders from the north. It took nearly three decades, because the Khalji Sultans did not originally aim at the annexation of southern regions, and because their agents proved treacherous and created turmoil at Delhi, so that the hold of the central government upon subordinate Hindu kingdoms was lost after each conquest. The Hindu rulers adopted the policy of the cane-reed, bending down when the storm was strong and standing up again when it had passed. They paid tribute to their Muslim suzerain only when it could be enforced. Hence the Tughluqs followed a policy of annexation, and destroyed practically all the Hindu states that resisted their fiat.

In 1294 Alauddin Khalji personally humbled Ramadeva, the Yadava king, and exacted from him a 'ransom of 600 *mans* of gold, 7 *mans* of pearls, 2 *mans* of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, 1,000 *mans* of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk, and an yearly tribute of the revenues of the Elichpur district.'⁸ After his accession to the throne of Delhi, he sent his redoubtable general, Malik Kafur, to realize the arrears of tribute from Ramadeva. The imperial forces once more defeated the Yadava king and sent him to Delhi in 1307. The Sultan gave him a kind reception, conferred upon him the title of Rai Rayan and sent him back to hold the kingdom of Devagiri as a fief of the sultanat.⁹ In 1309 Malik Kafur, assisted by Ramadeva, entered Telingana, defeated Prataparudra,¹⁰ the Kakatiya king, seized all his accumulated wealth, and compelled him to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan. He spent the subsequent two years in subjugating the Hoysala and the Pandyan kingdoms. Ramadeva of Devagiri 'provided material of war for the army of invasion'. Hoysala Ballala III, unable to resist the Delhi army, surrendered all his 'gems, valuables and buried treasures and enrolled himself among the imperial tributaries. The Pandyan rulers met with a worse fate. Most of the famous shrines of their kingdom were pulled down and their priests sought safety in flight to the forests. The victorious general returned to Delhi in October 1311, laden with spoils worth several millions of *tankas*, and took with him Prince Ballala, the son of the Hoysala king.¹¹

⁸ Ferishta (Lucknow text), I, 46. There are many varieties of *mans* in India—from 19 lbs. in Travancore to 163½ lbs. in Ahmadnagar. See Sewell: FE, 402.

⁹ Barani (ED, III, 200). According to Isami, Ramadeva invited Alauddin's assistance to suppress the revolt of his own son, Bhillama (Sangama?).

¹⁰ Called Rudar or Laddar Dev, Rai of Tilang, by Musalman chroniclers.

¹¹ Ferishta and Isami state that Malik Kafur took with him to Delhi Ballala III himself. Inscriptions, however, show that it was his son, who waited upon the Sultan

After Ramadeva's death, his son, Sankar (called Bhillama by Isami), raised the standard of revolt in 1312. Malik Kafur once more returned to his first scene of action, defeated and killed him, and annexed the Yadava kingdom to the empire of Delhi.¹²

But the triumph of the Musalmans was shortlived and ineffective. Taking advantage of Alauddin's indifferent health, Malik Kafur intrigued to secure supreme power into his own hands, and was suspected of hastening the death of his master in 1316. He threw all the grown-up sons of the late Sultan into prison and began to rule in the name of the youngest prince. This usurpation plunged the state into chaos, and the southern Hindu kings immediately asserted their independence and withheld the stipulated tribute. The Marathas expelled the Muslim garrison from Devagiri, and their leader, Harapaldeva, son-in-law of Ramadeva, once more restored the Yadava kingdom.

This set-back to the imperial interests was, however, a temporary phase. Some thirty-five days after the death of Alauddin, his loyal 'slaves' assassinated Malik Kafur, brought out Prince Mubarak from prison and placed him at the helm of the state. Mubarak Shah Khalji restored order in the northern provinces, and then organized a campaign for the recovery of the allegiance of the Deccan. In his time history repeated itself; like his great father, he personally took the field against the new Yadava king, Harapaldeva, defeated him in 1318 and flayed him alive. The Yadava kingdom came into the hands of the Sultan again. His general, Khusrau Khan, repeated the exploits of Malik Kafur, invaded Warangal, collected the arrears of tribute from Prataparudra, subjugated *Ma'abar*, and carried away a hundred elephants. In his greed he did not hesitate to confiscate the property of even a co-religionist, like Sirajuddin Taqi, a wealthy Musalman merchant of the seaport of Pattan.¹³

The Hindu rulers, however, could not rest in peace without another bid for independence. They got an opportunity in 1320 when Khusrau Khan killed Mubarak Shah Khalji, and made himself Sultan with the title of Nasiruddin. This revolution once more plunged the country into disorder, and gave a set-back to the Muslim power in the peninsula. Prataparudra again threw off the Muslim yoke, withheld tribute from Delhi, and even became somewhat aggressive. His example

at Delhi, and his return was celebrated in 1313 by a gift to a temple. See EC, VII, Sh. 68.

¹² Ferishta. According to Isami, Bhillama sought safety in flight; according to Amir Khusrau, the chief actor in this tragic drama was Sankama, the elder brother of Bhillama. See *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 12-13.

¹³ Barani, ED. III, 219.

encouraged others and the remaining Hindu princes reasserted their independence.

But their success too was ephemeral. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, the warden of the North-western frontiers of India, hurried to Delhi, destroyed the usurper, and sent his eldest son, Jauna, entitled Ulugh Khan, to reconquer the Hindu states of the South. In 1323 the Kakatiya kingdom was overthrown and Prataparudra committed suicide in captivity. Telingana became a part of the Delhi empire and a Muslim governor was installed at Warangal. Madura too appears to have met with a similar fate about the same time.¹⁴ Thus one king after another bowed his head to the inevitable fate of defeat and humiliation at the hands of successive invaders from the north. By 1325 the Yadava, the Kakatiya and a major part of the Pandyan dominions were incorporated into the Delhi sultanat, and Devagiri, Warangal, and Madura became the seats of Muslim provincial governors. Only the Hoysala kingdom somehow survived the Muslim occupation and preserved its precarious existence. The Pandyan rulers appear to have retired to their more southern possessions in the Tinnevely district.

The overthrow of the Yadavas, however, released Kampiladeva, the chief of Kampili, from his oath of loyalty to that house and made him independent. He and his heroic son, Ramanatha, carved out for themselves a small but powerful state in the Raichur Doab with Kampili, Anegondi and Kummata as their stronghold.¹⁵ They behaved as the political successors of the Yadavas of Devagiri, and thus drew upon themselves the wrath of Hoysala Ballala III.¹⁶ Between 1320 and 1325, the latter waged three successive but fruitless wars against them at a time when storm clouds were gathering with sinister portents in the political horizon of southern India. The state of Kampili

¹⁴ N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, Ch. IV, Sec. V; also in JOR, XII, 210-13.

¹⁵ Kampil or Kampili, on the northern bank of the river Tungabhadra, about eight miles east of Anegondi, is in the Bellary district; Kummata is corrupted into Crynmata by Nuuz. For its identification see QJMS, XX, 5. The Sanskrit name for Anegondi was Hastinavati or Kunjarakona. The kingdom went under the name of either of these strongholds. For the events connected with the rise and fall of the kingdom of Kampili; see N. Venkataramanayya, *Kampili and Vijayanagar; Further Sources*, Vol. I, Ch. II.

¹⁶ EC, VIII, No. 19; MAR, 1923, No. 121; and EC, XII, 24. According to Rice's translation of the last record, the Hoysala general 'pierced and slew Kampila'. But Ibn-i Battuta's narrative shows that 'the Rai of Kampili' died in 1327, while fighting against the Muslim forces of Muhammad bin Tughluq. ED, III, 615. His reference to the eleven sons of the Rai precludes the identification of the 'Rai of Kampili' with Ramanatha, the son of Kampiladeva. An epigraph also refers to Kampila's death in a 'military campaign from Delhi'. EI, XXIII, 184, note 13.

survived the Hoysala attacks only to meet with destruction at the hands of the Turks two years later.

In 1325 Jauna became the Sultan of Delhi with the title of Muhammad bin Tughluq. His authority was challenged by his cousin, Bahauddin Gurshasp, who had been in charge of the frontier town of Sagar, near Gulbarga, in the Deccan. The Sultan ordered the army of Gujarat to take the field against the rebel. A battle was fought near Devagiri in which Bahauddin was badly beaten. The latter saved himself by seeking shelter at the court of Kampiladeva, the Raja of Kampili. In the meantime the Sultan personally came down to Devagiri and despatched three successive expeditions against his rebel cousin and his Hindu protector. In the first two campaigns the imperial forces were defeated and forced to retreat; in the third, however, they invested the fort of Kummata and captured one of its gates by assault. Kampiladeva and his protege, together with their families and retainers, made their escape to Anegondi. The imperialists took Kummata, pursued the fugitives and surrounded Anegondi from all sides. The garrison had no way of escape, and as the days passed they had to face starvation and death. Kampiladeva lost all hopes of victory. He sent away Bahauddin to seek asylum at the court of Ballala III, and prepared for the worst. After seeing that the womenfolk were removed beyond the reach of the Muslim soldiers by sacrificing themselves in the sacred flames of *jauhar*, he threw open the gates of the citadel. In the melee, he and his followers met with a heroic death.¹⁷ According to Nuniz six old men who had retired to a house were taken prisoner and kept in custody at Delhi. The conquered region was put in charge of the Malik Naib.¹⁸ Ballala III was not prepared to risk his kingdom for

17 Ibn-i Battuta, Isami, Nuniz and Ferishta. Ibn-i Battuta, however, says: 'Eleven sons of the Rai were made prisoners, and carried to the Sultan, who made them all Musalmans. The Sultan also made them amirs.' (ED. III, 614-15.) Regarding the course of the war, sequence of events and result, Nuniz differs from Ibn-i Battuta and other writers. According to him, this was purely a war of aggression on the part of 'the King of Dili' against 'the King of Bisnaga'; during the campaign, first Nagundy (Anegondi) was taken; the Hindu king and his nobles killed their womenfolk with their own hands before opening the gate of the fortress of 'Crynamata' (Kummata); the imperialists slew all, except six leading officers, one of whom was the minister, and another the treasurer of the vanquished king. These were kept in custody at Delhi. (Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, 295.) Ferishta states that 'the Raja of Kampili' was taken prisoner. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, I, 419). Barani makes no mention of the war, but includes Kampili among Muhammad bin Tughluq's conquests. (ED, III, 236.) The events connected with the rise and fall of the kingdom of Kampili are also noticed in a few Kanarese and Telugu Mss. See N. Venkatarmanayya: *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, 4 ff.

18 Dr. N. Venkatarmanayya identifies him with Prince Mahmud. See JOR, XII, 20.

the sake of a refugee. He made peace with the Sultan by surrendering Bahauddin into the hands of his pursuers.

Thus practically the entire peninsula from Tapti to Cape Comorin passed into the hands of the Turks, and Muhammad bin Tughluq's transfer of his capital in 1327 from Delhi to Devagiri, now renamed Daulatabad, proclaimed to the world his determination to hold the vast empire in his iron grip.

The Hindus, on their part, were not unaccustomed to political revolutions and changes of dynasties. They would have passively accepted the new masters, if the latter had remained content with the acquisition of mere political power. But the soldiers of the Turkish conquerors behaved as plunderers under the pretext of religion. Their anxiety for quick victory and their greed of gold clouded their religious and moral vision, as generally happens in all wars of aggression. The handful of Muslims, who had made their way into hostile lands far away from their headquarters, employed terrorism in all possible forms to cow down resistance. Neither political adventurers nor bigoted theologians had any scruples in rousing the unholy enthusiasm of their ignorant and rapacious followers by exploiting the idea of 'holy war' (*jihad*). The Hindus, who had no first-hand knowledge of the *Quran*, associated the callous cruelty of their despoilers with the message of the Prophet, and could not reconcile themselves to the new dispensation.

Indeed to the Hindus the effects of the Turkish invasions were heart-rending. Their land was ravaged, their accumulated riches were confiscated,¹⁹ and their rulers were humiliated. A Yadava king and a Hoysala crown-prince had to wait upon Alauddin Khalji, begging for mercy and forgiveness; another Yadava king was killed in battle by Malik Kafur. Harapaldeva was taken captive and flayed alive by the orders of Mubarak Shah Khalji; and the Kakatiya Prataparudra sought freedom from captivity by committing suicide on the Nerbada, while being taken to Delhi as a prisoner by the Muslim conquerors. Famous temples like those at Chidambaram, Srirangam and Madura were sacked and several others were pulled down.²⁰ An inscription refers especially to the Muslim occupation of the country and their appropriation of temple lands.²¹ Another inscription vividly describes the pitiable plight of the people of Telingana under the rule of the Turks. It records:²² 'In a hundred

¹⁹ See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, App. B.

²⁰ See *Sources*; extracts from *Prapannamrtam* and *Acharyasukti-Muktavali*; See also *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 39-42.

²¹ MER, 64 of 1916.

²² *Bharati*, XIX, 311.

sinful ways the rich were tortured for the sake of their wealth. At the very sight of the Parsikas (i.e. the Turks) many abandoned their lives. The Brahmanas were disallowed to perform their religious rites and ceremonies. Temples were destroyed and sacred images were desecrated and broken... During that calamity none dared to claim anything as his own whether it was a piece of property or one's own wife...

Describing the devastated conditions of the Pandyan kingdom, Gangadevi, the talented daughter-in-law of Bukka I, wrote in her *Madura Vijayam* that places like Chidambaram and Srirangam had become haunts of tigers and jackals, and despair was writ large on the faces of the southern people (Dravidas). This description, though somewhat poetic, agrees with the accounts of the Muslim chroniclers. Amir Khusrau, the poet-laureate of the early Turkish sultans, records in his *Khazainul Futuh* that Malik Kafur destroyed several hoary shrines of the Pandyan kingdom, and plundered their riches. The rapid extension of the Turkish power, so disastrous to the Hindus, did not bring any organization in its train for the permanent administration of the country. The incessant clash of arms and mutual misunderstandings gave no opportunity for the evolution of some system of government, which could reconcile the interests of the victors and the vanquished. The rule of Muhammad bin Tughluq was least fitted to hold together vast areas under one sceptre. Marvellous stories of his ambition and ferocity circulated amongst the inhabitants of the peninsula, whose past experience drew harrowing pictures of future calamities under this tyrant.

REVOLT OF THE DECCAN AND THE SOUTH

The stage was set for a tremendous revolution. Even amidst the triumphal notes of the Turks, there was heard the challenging voice of their victims, which slowly but steadily rose in intensity and pitch and ultimately submerged the joyous peals of their antagonists. The down-trodden Hindus, although stunned by the blows of the Turks at the outset, gradually recovered from the stupor, and *new* leaders came forward to emancipate them from the alien thralldom. Ambitious Muslim governors also fully exploited the situation and hastened the dismemberment of the Delhi sultanat south of the Vindhya. The details of this epic struggle are not systematically on record. Only incidental references to them are to be found in certain Muslim chronicles, and the nature of the movement is indicated in a few Hindu epigraphical records.

Isami summarily disposes of the whole episode in a few sentences. He says: 'During the reign of this unworthy monarch (Muhammad

bin Tughluq), whose promises to anyone are seldom kept, insurgents seized by force the whole of India and tumult and confusion rose on all sides. Audacious men lifted their heads in all places, and in every country there arose another king. *Ma'abar* became the seat of a separate government. A Saiyyid became badshah of that region. Tilang having rebelled, the fort of Tilang (Warangal) passed away from the hands of the Turks. An apostate captured the country of Kannad from Gutya as far as the boundary of *Ma'abar*.²³ Barani, another contemporary chronicler, referring to these events remarks: 'A revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal (Warangal). Kanya Naik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Maqbul, the *naib wazir*, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. *About the same time* one of the relations of Kanya Naik (more appropriate Kampila or Kampiladeva),²⁴ whom the Sultan had sent to Kampili, apostatized from Islam, and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kampili also was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus.' Ferishta furnishes more details about the rising of the Hindus in the South. Says he, 'This year (A.H. 744/1344 A.D.) Krishna Naik, the son of Ludder Deo (Prataparudradeva), who lived near Arangal, went privately to Bilal Deo, Raja of the Carnatic, and told him that he had heard that the Muslims, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindus and that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them. . . Krishna Naik promised, on his part also, when their plans were ripe, to raise all the Hindus of Arangal and Telingana, and put himself at their head. He (Bilal Deo) then raised an army and put part of it under the command of Krishna Naik, who reduced Arangal and compelled Imadul Mulk,²⁵ the governor, to retreat to Daulatabad. . . The confederate Hindus seized the country, lately occupied by the Muslims in the Deccan, and expelled them so that within a few months Muhammad Tughlaq had no possessions in that quarter except Daulatabad.'²⁶

Barani and Ferishta have given wrong names to Kapaya Nayaka, who was the real leader of the revolt in Telingana, and Ferishta has further blundered in assigning a wrong date to it,²⁷ and in ascribing

²³ *Indian Culture*, V, 261-65, *Further Sources*, No. 7.

²⁴ A Ms. of Barani's history found in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (D. No. 258), Madras, has Kampila in the place of Kanya Naik. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, 181-82, foot-note 34. For Barani's account, see ED, III, 245.

²⁵ This seems to be an error; Barani gives the name as Malik Maqbul.

²⁶ Ferishta (Briggs), Vol. I, 427.

²⁷ See JAHRS, V, 231; JBORS. XX, 266; and *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 45-50.

the foundation of Vijayanagara to 'Bilal Deo' i.e. Ballala III or IV, both of whom had passed away before 1344. The events appear to have taken place in the order mentioned by Isami: 'first *Ma'abar*, then the fort of Tilang', and about the same time 'Kannada' (Kampili of Barani) threw off the yoke of Delhi. The earliest coin struck in the name of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah of *Ma'abar* bears the date A.H. 735 (1334-35 A.D.).

But the war of liberation was started in the coastal districts of the Andhra country about a decade before the revolt in *Ma'abar*. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of Ulugh Khan with his accession to the throne of Delhi in 1325, the Hindus first regained possession of the eastern sea-board.²⁸ The Vilasa grant shows that Prolaya Nayaka of the Musumuri family became the lord of the region between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. He 'restored to the Brahmans their *agraharas*, which had been granted to them by former kings but forcibly taken away from them by those wrong-doers (the Turushkas)...' According to the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli (1325), Prolaya Nayaka rescued the land from the Muslim occupation. After his death, his cousin, Kapaya Nayaka, who was served by seventy-five nayakas, protected the land,²⁹ and in the words of Barani 'gathered strength in the country'. The rebellion of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah in *Ma'abar* in 1335 brought Ulugh Khan, now entitled Muhammad bin Tughluq, to the South; but he could not proceed beyond Warangal due to the outbreak of a severe plague in his camp. He gave up the campaign against the *Ma'abar* rebel and ordered an immediate retreat to Delhi, admitting failure for once in his life. The lesson was not lost on the suppressed people of the land, who now resolved to make another bid for freedom, so pointedly noticed by Ferishta. Kapaya Nayaka appeared on the scene, expelled Malik Maqbul, the Muslim governor of Telingana, captured Warangal, and made it the seat of his government. It is not without significance that he assumed the title of *Andhradesadhiscara* and *Andhrasuratrana*.³⁰ Still his resources were limited. He could not put an end to the Turkish rule in the whole of South India, nor could he prevent his quondam colleagues from establishing their own independent states in the neighbourhood—the Recherlas (Velamas) at Rachakonda and Devarakonda, and the Reddis at Addanki (later shifted to Kondavidu). Kapaya Nayaka's energies

28 M. S. Sarma: *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, 38-44.

29 For Vilasa and Kaluvacheru grants, see M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, Appendixes Nos. I and II.

30 *SII*, IV, 950; M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, 64-65.

were wasted in fighting against these jealous rivals till he himself was slain in a battle with the Velama king, Anavota Nayaka I, about 1367.

FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGARA

The freedom movement, however, spread westwards into the kingdom of Kampili. Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, gives details of events which liberated the land of 'Ngundy' i.e. Anegondi. According to him, the people of the locality, as soon as they heard of the Sultan's departure from the country, rose in revolt against his deputy and made his position extremely precarious. The names of the Hindu leaders, who had stirred up this rebellion, are not definitely known. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the Araviti chief, Somadevaraja, played a decisive part in it.³¹ In his helplessness, the Malik Naib informed his master about his pitiable plight, and appealed for immediate action. The Sultan summoned his councillors, and under their advice released from prison the six men, who had been in his custody since the overthrow of the kingdom of Kampili, appointed one of them, (Harihara) Deo Rai, as the new king, and made another governor, and, after taking from them oaths of fidelity, despatched them with a large army to their country. On their arrival at Anegondi they were warmly welcomed by the people, and the Malik Naib surrendered to them the fortress and the kingdom. The exact area of the land so delivered is not known. But epigraphic evidence shows that it included almost the whole of the present Bellary district and a portion of the Raichur Doab. Deo Rai pacified the people, and by his kindness won their esteem.

One day, while he was hunting on the southern banks of the Tungabhadra, a hare boldly turned towards his hounds and bit them all. He was astonished at this unnatural phenomenon, and while returning home, he met a hermit to whom he narrated the incident. The hermit inspected the locality and advised him to build a city on the spot, for the incident signified that it would be the strongest city in the world.³² The hermit was no other person than Vidyaranya of scholarly fame.³³ The city was founded accordingly and was named Vidyanagara. The *Rajakalanirnaya* and *Vidyaranyaikalajnana*, besides

31 M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, 48-52; N. Venkataramanayya, *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, 177 ff.

32 Sewell, FE, 296-300. This account is furnished by Nuniz. 'Deoras' mentioned by him appears to be a shorter name for Harihara Deva Ray, i.e. Harihara I.

33 There is a great deal of controversy regarding his identity with Madhavacharya. For arguments in favour, see IA, 1916; IHQ, VIII. For arguments against, see IHQ, VI, VII and X and JIH, XII.

corroborating the account given by Nuniz, state that those who were sent by the Sultan were Harihara and Bukka. This epoch-making event took place in 1336, according to the Kapaluru and Bagepalli grants.³⁴ But the story of the hare, the hound and the hermit may be rejected as it is also associated with the foundation of other cities in the Deccan.³⁵ Vidyaranya's inspiration in laying the foundation of the city, however, may be accepted since he was on very intimate terms with the founders of the empire.

That some persons connected with the old kingdom of Kampili were sent by Muhammad bin Tughlaq to put down the revolt, and that they turned disloyal and laid the foundations of a Hindu empire is established by contemporary evidence. Isami says that *an apostate* captured the country of Kannada. Barani remarks that one of the relations of Kampila (i.e. Kampiladeva)³⁶ whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (i.e. Kampili) apostatized from Islam, stirred up a revolt and established himself in the country. Muhammad bin Tughluq was not the first ruler to make this novel and dangerous experiment of entrusting the government of a province to converts from Hinduism. Precedents were not lacking. Sukhapal, a grandson of Jaipal, was converted to Islam and appointed governor of Ohind or Waihind by Mahmud of Ghazni. He too had apostatized and led the Hindu forces against his Turkish master.³⁷ Malik Kafur and Khusrau Khan had been given positions next only to their Khalji sovereigns in the Turkish sultanat. Muhammad bin Tughluq himself had converted and ennobled Kattu or Kannu, an officer of Prataparudra and put him in charge of the province of Tilang.³⁸ The despatch of Harihara and Bukka to restore order in the region of Kampili was quite in keeping with these precedents. But like other schemes of this ill-starred monarch, the arrangement failed miserably. Harihara, 'apostatized from Islam', reverted to his ancestral faith of Hinduism, asserted his independence and laid the foundation of the city and empire of Vijayanagara, under the inspiration of Vidyaranya.³⁹

³⁴ *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, CP. No. 15; EC, X, Bg. 70. Father Heras questions the authenticity of these records. See his *Beginnings of Vijayanagar History*, 1-42.

³⁵ IA, XXVIII, 218.

³⁶ Elliot's translation has Kanya Naik, while a Ms. of Barani's work gives 'Kampila' instead. Kampila appears to be correct, because Nuniz connects the person sent by Muhammad bin Tughluq with the court of the king of Bijnaga (i.e. Kampiladeva).

³⁷ *Camb. Hist. of India*, III, 15; another case of apostasy is mentioned by Ibn-i Battuta. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, 240.

³⁸ ED, III, 867.

³⁹ There are various stories regarding the origin of the city and the empire of Vijayanagara. See Sewell, FE, 20-23; B. A. Saletore, SPLVE, Vol. I, 28-35, 82-112. A

HARIHARA AND BUKKA

According to the inscriptions of later kings,⁴⁰ which give an account of the origin of the family, Harihara I had four brothers—Kampa I, Bukka I, Marappa, Mudappa—and these were the sons of one Sangama⁴¹ of the Yadava family and lunar race. The dynasty founded by them is known as the Sangama dynasty after the name of their father. The empire of Vijayanagara was the result of the strenuous

study of these has led to the formulation of two clearly defined theories by different groups of scholars:

(a) *Telugu origin*. The city and the empire were founded by Harihara I and Bukka I, the most prominent of the five sons of Sangama, who were *originally* treasury officers of Kakatiya Prataparudra. After the capture of Warangal by Ulugh Khan in 1323, they transferred their services to Kampiladeva of Anegondi (or Kummata). The rest of their career after the fall of Anegondi is given above in the text. See Sewell, FE; B. Suryanarayana Rao, *The Never to be Forgotten Empire*; V. Rangachari, Ind. Ant. XLIII; N. Venkataramanayya, *Kampil and Vijayanagara*; and *Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and The Empire* (1933); *Further Sources*, Vol. I, Ch. III.

(b) *Karnataka Origin*: The city was founded by Hoysala Ballala III, and the empire by his feudatories—Harihara I, Bukka I and other sons of Sangama, who became legitimate successors of the Hoysala rulers after the extinction of that house. See Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in QJMS, IX, 13-22; H. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*; S. Srikantayya, *Founders of Vijayanagara*. According to H. Krishna Shastri, Harihara I and Bukka I were originally feudatory chiefs of Hoysala Ballala III, but later they took advantage of the weakness of their sovereign, and set up the empire of Vijayanagara at the expense of their master's territories. See ASI, 1907-08, 235-36. B. A. Saletore, while stressing the Karnataka origin of the sons of Sangama, opines that the city of Vijayanagara was founded by Bukka I in 1368. See his remarks in SPLVE, I, 33-39, 108-12; *Ind. Hist. Quart.* VIII, 295-301, 768-74; and VSCV, 139 ff. Both Father Heras and B. A. Saletore discard the story of Vidyaranya's share in laying the foundation of the city. The former even charges the *Gurus* of Sringeri *Matha* with abetment of forged documents, embodying false traditions for mundane gains; S. Srikantayya, however, enters a caveat and cites evidence to support Vidyaranya's connection with the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. See his *Founders of Vijayanagara*, 107 ff; QJMS, XXVI, 180-226, 232-35 and VSCV, 161-68.

But the Karnataka theory depends more or less on the identification of 'Deorao' of Nuniz with Hoysala Ballala III. The statement of Ferishta that 'Bilal Deo' founded the city of Beejanagar after the name of his son, Beeja, has been responsible for this identification. Contemporary Muslim chronicles, read in the light of the account given by Nuniz and other traditions, definitely show that 'Deorao' was Harihara I. However, the Telugu or Karnataka origin of the city and the empire of Vijayanagara is not very crucial. It is sufficient to note that their founders were Harihara I and his brothers and it is *through their exertions* that South India was cleared of Muslim occupation. In this great enterprise they received substantial assistance and guidance from Vidyaranya and the *Gurus* of Sringeri *Matha*.

40 EC, VI, Ch. 64, Kp. 25, Sg. I, Mb. 158.

41 Is he Bhava Sangama who had married a daughter of Kampiladeva? If so, Barani's reference to the appointment of an unnamed relation of Kampila (Madras Ms.) as the governor of Kampil appears to have some basis. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The EMESI*, 181, note 34.

efforts of these five brothers in defence of their country and their religion. The times were opportune for them. Muhammad bin Tughluq was too much embroiled in difficulties nearer home, and Hoysala Ballala III, the old champion of the Hindus in the South, was engrossed in a war of extermination against the Sultan of Madura. Slowly and steadily these five brothers began to acquire influence and territory at their expense. Epigraphical records and the itinerary of Ibn-i Battuta show that by 1339 Harihara I was not only well-established in the regions which had been once under the rule of Kampiladeva, but had also temporarily got possession of a bit of Hoysala territory in Bangalore district. In 1342 Hoysala Ballala III was taken prisoner and treacherously put to death by Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah of Madura.⁴² Shortly after this, his son, Virupaksha Ballala IV, also disappears from the scene.

The abject surrender of Ballala III to Muhammad bin Tughluq and subsequently his capture and execution by the Sultan of Madura clearly demonstrated that the Hoysala state could not survive the attacks of foreign foes for long. The only question was: who would acquire it—the princes of Vijayanagara or the sultans of Madura? The former, who had already repudiated their allegiance to Muhammad bin Tughluq, determined to get it for themselves. They conquered the Hoysala districts one after another—Hassan, Shimoga, Kolar, Mysore, Chitaldrug, etc. Bits of information regarding this sanguinary struggle between the two Hindu states of the South are preserved in contemporary inscriptions. An epigraph of the time of Bukka I explicitly states that one of his officers secured victories over the Hoysala army. By the year 1346 the whole of the Hoysala kingdom had passed into the hands of the rulers of Vijayanagara.⁴³

Side by side with these conquests, the five brothers and their relatives took up the administration of the territories acquired by their joint efforts. Of the late Hoysala dominions, Harihara I took charge of the western and southern portions, and Bukka I of the eastern and central divisions; Kampa I looked after the Udayagiri-rajya, comprising the modern Nellore and Cuddapah districts; Marappa governed the modern North Kanara and Shimoga districts; and Mudappa administered Mulbagal Maharajya in the south-eastern corner of Mysore. Their undivided interest in laying the foundation of the empire is clearly brought out by their joint gift of certain villages in 1346 to forty Brahmans attached to Sringeri *Matha* in celebration of their conquest of 'the earth from the Eastern to

⁴² EC, VI, Kd. 75; also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, 280-81.

⁴³ N. Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagar—Origin, etc.* Ch. V.

Western Ocean'.⁴⁴ Governors and scions of the royal family had also some share in the administration of the growing state. For instance, in 1349 Hadapa Gautarasa, a minister of Harihara I, is known to have been ruling the Mangalur-rajya, and Vira Virupanna Odeyar the Penugonda-rajya.⁴⁵

But this rapid progress of the young Hindu state did not go unchallenged. Its northern expansion was soon checked by the Bahmani kingdom founded in the Deccan by Hasan, a rebel officer of Muhammad bin Tughluq, in 1347. Alauddin Hasan Shah Bahmani, the new Sultan of the Deccan, made Gulbarga the seat of his government. He had received assistance from the 'Raja of Telingana' (Kapaya Nayaka), and yet had very little sympathy towards the neighbouring Hindu states. Ferishta⁴⁶ says that Alauddin I, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom, wrested Kaulas from the Raja of Warangal and sent a considerable force into the Carnatic, from whence his general returned successful with valuable contributions from several rajas. From Saiyyid Ali's account⁴⁷ it becomes obvious that the rajas so defeated included Harihara I, Bukka I, and Kampa I, who, as seen above, were laying the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. In the south there was the sultanat of Madura, which in spite of three successive revolutions within a period of seven years, grew in strength and even reduced to a low condition the Cholas and Pandyas and proved destructive to the prosperity of the Hoysala Ballalas.⁴⁸ Ibn-i Battuta gives a blood-curdling story of the massacre of Hindu women and children perpetrated by Ghiyasuddin, the fourth Sultan of Madura. Indeed the Vijayanagara state found itself between two rolling mills, the Bahmani kingdom in the north and the Madura sultanat in the south. The chief concern of the early rulers of Vijayanagara was to provide sufficiently against their encroachment and, if possible, to eliminate them.

It was a question of the survival of the religious, social and economic life of the Hindus, who had once more begun to breathe freely under the protecting hand of the early Vijayanagara princes. Bukka I⁴⁹ took upon himself the task of clearing South India of the Turkish occupying forces, and sent his son, Kumara Kampana, in command of the campaign.

⁴⁴ EC, VI, Sg. 1.

⁴⁵ 57 of 1901, and EI, VI, 327.

⁴⁶ Ferishta (Briggs), II, 308-19.

⁴⁷ *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, translated by J. S. King (Luzac and Co.).

⁴⁸ *Madura Vijayam*, Canto VIII; *Sources*, 28.

⁴⁹ Of the five brothers, Bukka was the chief like Arjuna, the middle Pandava, EC, VI, Kp. 25.

It was a long-drawn contest attended with thrilling incidents and changing fortunes. During the period from 1343-44 to 1355-56 the power of the sultans of Madura was completely paralysed as is indicated by the total absence of their coinage during this period. They, however, recovered some of their lost ground about 1356, and issued coins⁵⁰ once more till 1377. This was probably due to the death of Harihara I in 1355 and the dangerous potentialities of the campaign of the Bahmani Sultan in Telingana about the same time.⁵¹ That Vijayanagara was passing through some crisis, probably due to an invasion of the first Bahmani Sultan at this time, is proved by Bukka I's anxiety to secure the presence of Vidyaranya at the metropolis in 1356.⁵²

Bukka I succeeded⁵³ Harihara I on the throne of Vijayanagara sometime in 1356. He had to wage war on two fronts. While he personally attended to the war against the Bahmani sultans, his valiant son, Kumara Kampana, pursued his campaign against the sultanat of Madura.

Kumara Kampana's southern expedition was not without substantial results. Assisted by his minister, Gopana, and his general, Saluva Mangu,⁵⁴ he overthrew the Sambuva-raya of Rajagambhirarajya, killed one of the sultans of Madura, and reinstalled⁵⁵ the divine images in the Rajasimheswara temple at Kanchi in 1364, and in Ranganathaswami temple at Srirangam in 1371. The *Pandyan Chronicle*⁵⁶ says: 'Kampanuduver (Kampana Odeyar), a native of Karnata, having conquered the Musalmans, took possession of the kingdom. He opened the Siva and Vishnu temples which had been locked up. He opened the God's temple at Madura, and obtained a personal view of the God...' Inscriptions also narrate how the land was cleared of the 'Turkish' garrisons in the South. An undated record states, 'The times were Tulukkan (Turkish) times; the *devadana* lands were taxed;... At this juncture Kampana Odeyar came on his southern campaigns, destroying Tulukkans, established a stable administration throughout the country... in order that the worship in all temples might be revived as of old.'⁵⁷ Epigraphical

50 Supplement to Vol. II of the *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta,

51 M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, 81, 84.

52 MAR, 1916, 56.

53 Sewell's date for the death of Harihara I is wrong. See MER, No. 111 of 1913. Latest known date of Harihara is 1356. See MER, 115 of 1901; SII, VII, 303.

54 An ancestor of Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty.

55 *Sources*, Extracts 1 to 5; EI, VI, 322 ff.

56 Taylor, *O.H.Mss.*, I, 85-87.

57 MER, 1916, sec. 83.

records⁵⁸ show that Kampana's influence extended from Mysore in the north to Ramnad in the south, and that he was in power between 1361 and 1374. Still Alauddin Sikandar Shah, the last of the sultans of Madura, lingered on somewhere and issued coins as late as 1377. The complete subjugation of the South was the work of Virupaksha, a son of Harihara II, who is said to have conquered the Tundira, Chola and Pandya countries for his father.⁵⁹

THE FIRST BAHMANI-VIJAYANAGARA STRUGGLE

The problem of the northern defences, however, baffled all solution. Hardly any decade passed without a clash of arms between the the Vijayanagara and Bahmani sovereigns.⁶⁰ Ordinarily, their wars have been regarded as due to religious differences of the two states, and it has been assumed that Vijayanagara was reduced to vassalage on several occasions. These erroneous impressions should be removed before entering into the history of the times. They are created by the accounts of medieval Muslim chroniclers, who very often used history as a handmaid of theology. The fact is that the land between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, on account of its economic wealth, had been the bone of contention between the western Chalukyans and the Cholas as well as between the Yadavas and the Hoysalas. When the Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagara empire rose on the ruins of the Yadava and Hoysala dominions, history simply repeated itself. *The contest between the Bahmani sultans and the rayas of Vijayanagara was but a revival of the ancient economic struggle between the Deccan and South India of the purely Hindu epoch. In the Bahmani-Vijayanagara wars, their religious differences only served to brutalize the struggle, but they did not originate it.*

Further, the peculiar circumstances under which the two states came into existence made frequent warfare between them a normal feature of their existence; during the process of their formation each of them acquired only certain parts of the Raichur Doab; but each of them as the political successor of its immediate predecessor aspired to possess the whole. On the eve of the second great war between the two states, Mujahid Shah actually demanded all the territories north of the Tungabhadra, *while Bukka I put forth a counter-claim for the entire Doab, since Raichur and Mudkal had always belonged*

⁵⁸ Sewell, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, 199.

⁵⁹ EI, III, 224-30.

⁶⁰ For the details of the various campaigns, see also the chapter on the Bahmani kingdom. The account of wars in this text is based upon a comparative study of the histories written by Ferishta, Saiyyid Ali and other Muslim chroniclers and the evidence of Hindu epigraphical and literary records.

to the *Anegondi family*. This political proprietary instinct was so ingrained in the minds of the rulers that, according to Nuniz, Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara, left a testament charging his successor to recover Raichur and Mudkal from the Bahmani sultans.⁶¹ One more cause for these wars lay in the fact that the rayas of Vijayanagara were immensely rich and their treasuries and temple-coffers overflowed with precious metals and stones. No wonder that these offered a standing temptation to the northern rulers. Thus it may be said that *the Bahmani-Vijayanagara wars were not crusades, but secular contests* for the acquisition of wealth and territory.⁶² In these wars, as the following events will show, the Bahmani rulers did not achieve an unbroken success, nor could they reduce Vijayanagara to vassalage at any time.

In 1358 Alauddin Hasan Shah was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Shah I. Kapaya Nayaka and Bukka I saw in this change of rulers an opportunity to recover their lost territories (? Kaulas). They demanded from Muhammad Shah I restitution of lands wrested from them by his father, 'threatening in case of refusal, not only to invade his country themselves, but to draw upon him the army of the king of Delhi'. Muhammad Shah I replied by making a counter-demand of *customary* offerings due to him on his accession, implying thereby that they were his vassals. Kapaya Nayaka, the Raja of Telingana, deputed his son, Vinayaka Deva, with an army to recover Kaulas, while Bukka I sent a considerable force to cooperate with him. The allied Hindu forces, however, were totally defeated by the Bahmani general, Bahadur Khan, who marched to the gates of Warangal, and forced Kapaya Nayaka to purchase peace by surrendering 100,000 gold *huns*, twenty-five elephants and many valuable jewels.⁶³

But the peace so purchased was not lasting. Vinayaka Deva offended the dignity of the Bahmani Sultan by seizing from some horse-merchants the best of their horses when they were on their way to the court of Gulbarga. In order to avenge this insult, the Sultan marched into Telingana in 1362, captured the Hindu prince in his citadel at Velamputtan and subjected him to a most cruel death. On his return march, however, the Hindus plundered his baggage, wounded him, and destroyed nearly two-thirds of his forces.

61 Sewall: FE, 307-8, 316.

62 Gurty Venkat Rao, *The Bahmani-Vijayanagara Relations in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Second Session, 1938; J. D. B. Gribble: *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, 26-28.

63 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 301. Vinayaka Deva is called 'Nagdeo' in Scott's translation, I, 19. *Hun*=*Hon*, a gold coin worth four rupees.

These events paved the way for a major war between the two states. Kapaya Nayaka in despair appealed to Firuz Shah Tughluq, the emperor of Delhi, for assistance, in return for which he promised to become a vassal of the emperor. But the new Tughluq sovereign was quite different from his late cousin in temperament, and preferred the fruits of peaceful enterprise to the gains of military adventures. Probably his orthodoxy too dissuaded him from assisting the Hindus against his own co-religionists. He did not respond to their appeals. On the other hand, these negotiations and his own recent discomfiture rankled in the mind of Muhammad Shah I. He now resolved on the entire conquest of Telingana. His armies easily occupied the country and ravaged the land for two years. Finally, with great difficulty Kapaya Nayaka saved his state by presenting to the Sultan the district of Golkonda, an indemnity of 1,300,000 *huns* and a throne studded with turquoises.

Bukka I was not a party to this transaction. Hence probably with a view to ascertaining his attitude, Muhammad Shah I issued to his musicians a draft on the Vijayanagara treasury. The Hindu sovereign,⁶⁴ *proud of his independence*, sent back the messengers with every mark of contempt and derision, and declared war upon the Sultan in 1366. Before the latter could mobilize his forces, the Raya surprised and captured the fort of Mudkal in the *debatable land* of the Raichur Doab, and put the entire garrison to the sword with the exception of one man. The infuriated Sultan swore solemnly to avenge the disaster by the slaughter of one hundred thousand Hindus. In spite of the rainy season and in the face of opposition, he crossed the Krishna and recaptured Mudkal. Bukka I fled to Adoni, and when the enemy approached, he left the fort in charge of his sister's son, and retreated to Vijayanagara. Muhammad Shah I followed Bukka I and crossed the Tungabhadra. The war dragged on for several months with the casualty list of the Hindus soaring higher and higher. Yet the final decision remained a distant vision. The Vijayanagara general, Bhoj Mul, was mortally wounded. The Sultan lost two of his commanders and failed twice in his attempt to capture the city of Vijayanagara. In a desperate mood he ordered the massacre of the inhabitants round the metropolis. It is said that this war cost the Hindus half a million lives. At last, the protests of 'the Brahmans and principal Hindu officers' compelled Bukka I to sue for peace. According to Ferishta, the Sultan sheathed the sword only when the Raya honoured his draft and paid the musicians. In the treaty of peace, there was an agree-

⁶⁴ Ferishta calls Bukka I by the name of 'Krishna Rai'; see Ferishta (Briggs) II, 314.

ment that in future wars non-combatants should not be molested; there was no understanding—no stipulation of any kind—either about the tribute or about the boundaries between the two states.⁶⁵

The last question, however, was revived⁶⁶ by Mujahid Shah, the son and successor of Muhammad Shah I. Soon after his accession to the throne in April 1375, he wrote to Bukka I that as the joint possession of some forts and districts between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra caused constant disputes, the Raya should waive his rights over all the territories north of the Tungabhadra together with the fort of Bankapur. The Vijayanagara sovereign wrote in reply that Raichur, Mudkal and other forts between the two rivers had for ages belonged to his family, and that the Sultan should surrender them, and confine his authority to the northern bank of the Krishna. Mujahid Shah declared war and, crossing the two rivers, sent a force to besiege Adoni, while he marched in person against Vijayanagara. Bukka I withdrew to the woods and hills and avoided a pitched battle for nearly six months. At last the pestilential air of the forest affected his health, and compelled him to return to his capital. It appears that he died of his malady in February 1377, and was succeeded by his son, Harihara II.⁶⁷

The inscriptions give great prominence to Bukka I as a warrior and a statesman. The city of Vidyanagara was greatly strengthened and developed by him, and renamed Vijayanagara.⁶⁸ He truly imbibed the mission of the empire, freed practically the whole of the South from alien domination, and brought it under one sceptre. He instilled new vigour into Hindu society, renovated temples and revived *agraharas*. Under his fostering care, a number of scholars produced literary works on religion, philosophy and law, among which Sayana-charya's commentaries on the Vedas occupy the foremost place. He

65 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 308-19. Ferishta does not say anything about the tribute with reference to the treaties with the rulers of Warangal and Vijayanagara, and yet he subsequently asserts that Muhammad Shah I in his last years was free from war because they remitted their *stipulated* tribute. *Ibid.*, 326.

66 *Ibid.*, 330-39.

67 EC, IV, Yd. 46.

68 EC, X, Mb 158, Gd 46; V, Cn 256. The genuineness of the first two records is questioned by B. A. Saletore. According to him there was no city of the name of Vidyanagara; Bukka I laid the *foundation* of the city of Vijayanagara in 1368, and completed it about 1378. See his *SPLVE*, 95-112. But his theory involves the total repudiation of the name 'Vidyanagara' mentioned in a number of inscriptions, simply because they are irregular in certain respects, or because they belong to a late date, or still because they are *supposed* to have 'emanated from some common source'. But it should be noted that the name occurs also in the literature of the period of the Sangama dynasty itself. See *JRAS*, 1902, 662; *Further Sources*, Vol. I, ch. V.

also restored harmony between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas, and his pronouncement on this occasion almost echoes Asoka's edict of toleration.⁶⁹ Ferishta pays a glowing tribute to the strength and prosperity of the empire about the close of his reign. He says, 'The princes of the house of Bahmani maintained their superiority by valour only; for in power, wealth and the extent of the country, the rajas of Beejanagar greatly exceeded them, especially in the time of Mujahid Shah, when as yet the whole of the country of Telingana had not fallen under the Bahmani yoke. . . The fortress of Belgaum, and other places, not included in Carnatic proper, belonged to the Rai of Beejanagar; and many districts of Tulu-ghat were in his possession. His country was well peopled, and the subjects were submissive to his authority. The rais of Malabar, Ceylon and other countries kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents.'⁷⁰

HARIHARA II

Harihara II came to the throne amidst the clash of arms.⁷¹ Mujahid Shah made desperate efforts to capture the imperial city, but finding it impossible to reduce it, he joined his forces at Adoni. This fort too defied his attacks for nine months, and his soldiers became despondent and clamoured for return to their own country. Finally, on the advice of the minister, Saifuddin Ghuri, he made peace with the Raya and returned to his capital. In this connection Saiyyid Ali's statement⁷² that the Raya agreed to pay a large sum of *nal baha* (war-expenses) and to deliver the keys of the fort in dispute appears to be apocryphal. There is no doubt that on this occasion the Sultan had to admit failure. Adoni and Bankapur still remained in the hands of the Raya. His nephew, Vira Channappa Odeyar,⁷³ is said to have defeated the Musalmans and presented the fort of Adoni to him.

This war not only frustrated the ambitious designs of Mujahid Shah and left the boundary question unsettled, but also, in a way, cost him his life, and invited a counter-invasion from Vijayanagara. During this war Mujahid Shah publicly censured his uncle, Daud, for abandoning a strategical post. Before reaching Gulbarga, the latter murdered Mujahid in revenge in April 1378, and proclaimed himself Sultan. For thirty-five days the Bahmani kingdom was paralysed due to party factions, and this tempted Harihara II to cross the Tunga-

⁶⁹ EC, II, SB, 344 (136); IX, Mg. 18.

⁷⁰ Ferishta (Briggs), II, 337-38.

⁷¹ Called 'Pureoyre Deorao' by Nuniz.

⁷² J. S. King, *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty* (Luzac & C.), 29.

⁷³ EC, XII, Kg. 43.

bhadra and invest the fortress of Raichur. At last Daud himself was assassinated in May, and the crown passed to one of his nephews, Muhammad Shah II. The new Sultan succeeded in securing the support of all parties in the kingdom, and so Harihara II gave up the siege and retired. Ferishta says that the Raya not only raised the siege, but also agreed to pay the Bahmani Sultan 'the tribute stipulated in the reign of Muhammad Shah I'. There are two glaring inconsistencies in this statement. First, in the reign of Muhammad Shah I, no stipulation had been made for the payment of any tribute;⁷⁴ and secondly, the present occasion did not demand any such concession on the part of the Vijayanagara sovereign. There is no military triumph to the credit of the Sultan at this time in any record whatsoever; on the contrary epigraphic evidence shows that Harihara II early in his reign expelled the Musalmans from Goa.⁷⁵

The task of Harihara II was rather difficult. The close of his father's reign had witnessed the growth of small but powerful kingdoms in the north-east of the empire. Vijayanagara's friend, Kapaya Nayaka, was slain about 1367 by the Velama king, Anavota Nayaka I of Devarakonda, who seized Warangal, made it his capital, and established his sway over a large part of Telingana; on the other hand, the Reddis of Kondavidu now launched upon a policy of expansion, and Anavema Reddi (*circa* 1364-86) conquered the coastal region as far north as Simhachalam. He also turned his forces against the Recherla chief of Devarakonda in the west, and inflicted a humiliating defeat upon him.

If the Bahmani sultans barred the rayas from reaching the Krishna river for a natural geographical boundary in the north, the powerful Reddis played a similar role in the north-east and even crossed swords with them. But the greatest menace to the empire came from the alliance between the Velama rulers of Warangal and the Bahmani sultans. Harihara II waged a few wars against Telingana, probably to break up this alliance. An inscription of 1384 reveals that Harihara II sent an army into Telingana, but the 'Turushkas' (Turks) came and attacked Kottakonda.⁷⁶ In the battle Saluva Ramadeva, one of the leaders of Vijayanagara forces, was killed. Probably the expedition failed. This, however, shows the close cooperation between the Velamas of Warangal and the Bahmanis of Gulbarga. Another inscription of 1395 mentions a war between the Bahmani Sultan and the Raya of Vijayanagara, in which Harihara II succeeded in capturing Rangini in southern Maharashtra.⁷⁷ Still another inscription of 1397 refers to

⁷⁴ See *supra*, footnote on the alleged tribute.

⁷⁵ JBRAS, IX, 227.

⁷⁶ EC, XII, Ck. 15.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 44. Rangini (Rangana) is situated south of the Phond Ghat.

the capture of Panagal in Telingana by his eldest son, Bukka II.⁷⁸ These incidents are not noticed by Muslim chroniclers. But the seizure of Panagal by the Raya of Vijayanagara is indirectly admitted by them in describing the war of 1417, when Firuz Shah Bahmani is said to have *made an attack* on Panagal and besieged it for two years without success.

Ferishta and Saiyyid Ali, however, do describe a major war between the Raya and the Sultan about 1398-99.⁷⁹ At this time the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom were in a state of turmoil due to internal revolutions. In 1397 Muhammad Shah II passed away; his two sons were successively crowned, deposed and blinded within seven months, and then Firuz Shah, a cousin of his, ascended the throne of Gulbarga. Probably encouraged by these events and persuaded also by other considerations, Harihara II declared war against the Bahmani Sultan. Ferishta says, 'Deo Rai of Beejanagar with thirty thousand horse and a vast army of foot invaded the Doab with a design to reduce the forts of Mudkal and Raichur.' Probably Harihara II sent his third son, Deva Raya, on this enterprise. Firuz Shah took up the challenge and mobilized his forces at Sagar. Then through the stratagem of one Qazi Siraj, who succeeded in killing a son of Deva Raya and spreading panic in the Hindu camp, he crossed the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in pursuit of the fleeing Hindus. As usual Vijayanagara was besieged and the flourishing districts south of the city were ravaged. Finally peace was made when the Raya paid the Sultan ten lakhs of *huns* as ransom money for the release of the prisoners. By a treaty it was agreed that the boundaries of the two states should remain the same as before the war. Saiyyid Ali's version of this war is somewhat different. According to him, Firuz Shah, with the desire of waging a holy war (*jihad*), ordered a large army to be assembled and marched towards the fort of Sagar. When the chiefs of that district tendered their submission, and the Raya paid him thirty-three lakhs of *tankas*, he returned to his capital. From the copper-plates of Telugu Choda Annadeva, a chieftain of the eastern coastal districts, we learn that he assisted 'the Turushka king in defeating the king of Karnata at Sagar'.⁸⁰ Thus the fact of the defeat of Vijayanagara in this war is clearly established, although the various accounts describe in their own peculiar style its causes and results.

Harihara II may be considered to be a great sovereign. The times

⁷⁸ *South Indian Research*, II, 173; *Velugotivarivamsavali*, Ed. by N. Venkataramanayya, Intro. 21.

⁷⁹ Ferishta (Briggs), II, 370-78; Saiyyid Ali (J. S. King), 37-40.

⁸⁰ EI, XXVI, 29-31; Sagar is on the northern bank of the Krishna in the Gulbarga district.

were also propitious to him. No remnant of the Muslim power of Madura was left to threaten the security of the southern frontiers of the empire. Firuz Shah Tughluq of Delhi and Muhammad Shah II of Gulbarga were both pacifists and had little taste for foreign wars. So long as the latter ruled over the Bahmani kingdom, Vijayanagara had nothing to apprehend regarding the safety of its northern frontiers. In the north-east, tranquillity was secured by a matrimonial alliance with Katayavema, the commander-in-chief and brother-in-law of the Reddi king, Kumaragiri.⁸¹ Thus Harihara II had full two decades of peace to consolidate his state and clothe it with imperial dignity. He possessed a vast empire bounded by 'eastern, southern and western seas'. The extent of his dominion is shown by the fact that inscriptions of his reign have been discovered in Mysore, Dharwar, Kanchipuram, Chingleput and Trichinopoly. His sons acted as viceroys in Araga, Mulbagal, Udayagiri and other subdivisions of the empire. He supported 'the four castes and orders'. He was a worshipper of Virupaksha (a form of Siva), and yet he patronized the Saivas, Vaishnavas and Jains alike. He is called *Rajaviyasa* and *Rajavalmiki* in his Vallur grant, indicating either his own learning or his patronage of scholars. Sayanacharya, the famous commentator of the Vedas, was for sometime his chief minister. Irugapa, the author of *Nanartha Ratnamala*, a Jain by faith, was one of his great generals. Harihara II was so popular with his subjects that they made grants and charities for his long life.

Harihara II died in August 1404, and his third son, Deva Raya I, was crowned on 7 November 1406. During the interval of over two years, there appears to have been a tripartite struggle for power between the three sons of Harihara II, viz. Bukka II, Virupaksha I and Deva Raya I. The first two occupied the throne successively for some months and issued grants in their own names with sovereign titles, when finally their place was taken by Deva Raya.⁸²

⁸¹ The Raya-Reddi marriage alliance is alluded to in the Vemavaram plates of Allaya Vema Reddi. EI, XIII, 242, v. 22. As to the parties, there is difference of opinion. According to N. Venkataramanayya, 'the marriage of Harihar's daughter was celebrated with Kataprabhu, the son of Katayavema'. *Further Sources*, I, 87. But M. S. Sarma is of opinion that the bridegroom was Katayavema himself. See his *History of the Reddi Kings*, 128, 169.

⁸² Prof. Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 478 and 480. EC, Hn. 133; VIII, Tl. 1, 13, 196. EI, VIII, 300; XV, 13. The successor of 'Pureoyre Deorao' (i.e. Harihara II) is called Ajarao by Nuniz. This Portuguese chronicler is not quite accurate in the names of rulers and their regnal periods. For these epigraphical evidence is a sure guide.

DEVA RAYA I

Deva Raya I came to the throne under unpropitious circumstances. But for the heroic and timely action of his minister, Lakshmidhara, he would have fallen victim to a plot organized by 'some ungrateful wretches' against his life.⁸³ During the period of his struggle for succession, Padekomti Vema, the Reddi king of Kondavidu, seized the rich province of Udayagiri.⁸⁴ Shortly after his accession a Bedar chief⁸⁵ in western Mysore 'slaughtered people all over the country, carrying off prisoners, and causing great disturbances and famine'. But a greater calamity than this overtook the land owing to the revival of the Bahmani-Vijayanagara hostilities in 1406-7. According to Ferishta, they were provoked by the Raya's infatuation for a lovely peasant maiden, Parthal by name, residing at Mudkal. When persuasion failed to secure her, he resorted to force and sent an expedition into the debatable land to decoy the Mudkal beauty. But on the approach of the Vijayanagara army, the girl and her parents left their home and disappeared. In their disappointment the retreating soldiers laid waste the towns and villages on their way. Firuz Shah retaliated by entering the Hindu territory and investing the citadel of Vijayanagara. Finding it impossible to reduce it, the Bahmani forces devastated the countryside, captured the fort of Bankapur, and concerted measures for an attack on Adoni. Pressed by his relentless foe and getting no response from the sultans of Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat to his appeal for assistance, the Raya sued for peace. Under the terms of the treaty he gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, ceded to him Bankapur as dowry and paid a large indemnity. Saiyyid Ali in his usual style passes over this war with great brevity, and treats it also as one of the so-called religious wars of Firuz Shah.⁸⁶

Now for one full decade there was peace between the two states. But Deva Raya I does not seem to have sheathed his sword. He turned his arms against the Reddis of Kondavidu. By 1413 he had recovered Udayagiri and placed it under his son, Ramachandra. Nuniz says that he took Goa, Chaul, Dabhol, Ceylon and all the

⁸³ ASI., 1907-8, 245; SII, IV, No. 267.

⁸⁴ *Further Sources*, Extracts Nos. 39-41.

⁸⁵ EI, XV, 14.

⁸⁶ Ferishta, 380-87; Saiyyid Ali, 39. Ferishta gives a graphic description of the royal marriage. But it is surprising that a Musalman like Saiyyid Ali does not even allude to this. Nuniz, who says that Ajarao (Deva Raya I) 'was always at war with the Moors' nowhere gives a hint regarding this matrimonial alliance. Ferishta's statement is not above suspicion, especially because the circumstances did not warrant any such 'highly disgraceful' concession.

country of 'Coromandel'. There is a record of 1411 in which it is stated that prayers were offered for the success of his son, Vijaya-Bukka III, who probably took part in these expeditions.⁸⁷ But it is very likely that *some* of the alleged conquests of Deva Raya I were vicarious, based upon the achievements of Harihara II.⁸⁸ It has already been noticed that Goa and 'Simhala' were conquered in the days of his father.

In 1417 Firuz Shah made an unprovoked attack (according to Ferishta) upon the fort of Panagal (Nalagonda), belonging to the Raya. After a siege of two years, a pestilence broke out in the Sultan's army and he had to retire. At this juncture arrived Deva Raya I with a large army 'having obtained assistance from all the surrounding princes, including the Raja of Telingana'. Saiyyid Ali says that the Sultan was 'compelled' to wage this war. The Hindu sources⁸⁹ furnish greater details regarding its real nature. After the death of Kumaragiri in 1403, the Reddi kingdom was split up into two independent states with their capitals respectively at Rajamahendri and Kondavidu, under Katava Vema and Pedakomati Vema. Each of them wanted to subdue the other, and their ambitions divided the rulers of the states of the Deccan and South India into two hostile groups. Deva Raya I supported his relative Katava Vema, Firuz Shah took the side of Pedakomati Vema and his friend, Annadeva Choda. These facts explain Ferishta's allusion to the coalition headed by Deva Raya I in this war, and Saiyyid Ali's statement that Firuz Shah was forced to wage it. In the early stages of the campaign the Bahmani arms scored a series of victories. Both the chroniclers, however, are agreed that the Sultan ultimately met with a crushing defeat in 1419, owing mainly to the defection of the Velama king, Anavota II, who joined Deva Raya; many of Firuz's people were slaughtered without mercy, and he was driven back to his own country.⁹⁰

Firuz Shah completely broke down under this disaster; and being coerced by his brother, Ahmad, he abdicated the throne in his favour and died shortly afterwards in September 1422.

⁸⁷ EC, IX, Ht. 149.

⁸⁸ There is reason to think that in Nuniz's account the achievements of Harihara II have been set down under Deva Raya I.

⁸⁹ *Triveni*, VI, 273 ff; JOR, VIII, 149 ff. *Velugottivartavamsavali*, Intro. 23-30; EI, XXVI. The Recherlas are better known by their community name, 'Velamas'. Their original cities were Rachakonda and Devarakonda (both in the Nalagonda district of Andhra Pradesh). They shifted their capital to Warangal after its capture from Kapaya Nayaka.

⁹⁰ Ferishta, 389-91; Saiyyid Ali, 40-41. Sewell attributes this victory to Deva Raya II. FE, 62.66. But Deva Raya I ruled till 1422. EC, IV, Gn. 24.

Deva Raya I occupies a prominent place in the history of Vijayanagara. He brought about a diplomatic revolution by weaning the Velama king from his hereditary friendship with the Bahmani sultans. He avenged the humiliation of Bankapur by the smashing victory of Panagal. But his greatest achievement lay in his irrigation works. Nuniz⁹¹ has given a graphic description of the dam constructed by him across the Tungabhadra with a view to leading canals into the city, which had hitherto been suffering from scarcity of water. These canals 'proved of such use to the city that they increased his revenue by more than three hundred and fifty thousand *perdaos*'. He also encouraged the construction of a dam to the river Haridra for irrigation purposes.⁹² During his reign grants to temples and priests were made on a lavish scale.

In 1420 Nicolo de Conti, an Italian traveller, visited Vijayanagara, which he calls Bizenegalia. He has left us an account of some of the social institutions of the land. His graphic descriptions of the city and its festivals, which may be identified with those of the New Year's day, *dipavali*, *mahanavami* and *holi*, are especially noteworthy. He says, 'The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains, and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms... Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India... Thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity... There weddings are celebrated with singing, feasting and the sound of trumpets and flutes...'⁹³

Deva Raya I died sometime in April, 1422,⁹⁴ Records dated in April and August of the same year have been found which refer to two of his sons—Ramachandra and Vira Vijaya I or Bukka III—with imperial titles. They, however, do not appear to have survived him by many months, and so in 1423 the crown finally passed to his grandson, Deva Raya II, son of Vira Vijaya.⁹⁵

91 Sewell: FE, 301-2.

92 EC, XI, Dg. 23 & 29.

93 R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*.

94 EI, XV, 14 & EC, IV, Gn 24, Ch. 159 read with 317 of 1931-32.

95 EC, IX, An. 79; VII, Sk. 93; 317 of 1931-32; EC, VIII, Tl. 163, Sb. 565. Vira Vijaya is also known by the names of Vijaya Raya, Vijaya Bukka and Bukka III. Ferishta makes no distinction between Deva Raya I, Vijaya Raya and Deva Raya II. To him all are 'Deo Rai' or 'Dewul Rai'. Nuniz assigns a reign of *six years* to Visarao (i.e., Vijaya Raya). Probably it is an error for *six months*. If Nuniz is correct, a joint rule has to be presumed in the case of Vira Vijaya and his son, Deva Raya II, for some time at least. See *Further Sources*, I, 64-66.

DEVA RAYA II

Deva Raya II came to the throne at a time when the Bahmani Sultan, Ahmad Shah I, was making preparations for avenging the humiliation of Panagal. The Raya being aware of this, invited the Raja of Warangal (Anavota II) to come to his assistance, and awaited the enemy on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. The Sultan having failed in his efforts to entice the Hindus to cross the river, himself went to the other side, and attacked them on their own ground. Deserted by the Warangal army, and overwhelmed by the surprise attack of the enemy, the Raya retired from the battle-field and shut himself up in his fort. Ferishta⁹⁶ describes in detail how the contending monarchs had a very narrow escape, how the Sultan indulged in indiscriminate massacres, and how the Raya finally paid the Sultan 'arrears of tribute for many years' to save his people from further destruction. Saiyyid Ali, however, does not mention any such monetary concession to the Sultan.⁹⁷ He simply says that the soldiers of Islam took many forts and towns and an enormous amount of booty. Obviously the wealth taken away by Ahmad Shah I consisted of war-booty, and Ferishta dignified it with the name of 'arrears of tribute'.

Ahmad Shah I could never forget that in the last two wars the Raja of Warangal had appeared on the side of Vijayanagara. He took full revenge upon him about the close of 1424, when he slew him in battle, occupied Warangal and annexed a large part of Telingana to his own kingdom. Probably in order to be nearer to his new conquests, the Sultan now shifted from Gulbarga to Bidar and made it his capital. During the rest of his reign he was engaged in wars with the rulers of Mahur, Malwa, Konkan and Gujarat, so that Vijayanagara enjoyed complete immunity from northern attacks for about a decade, and the heirs of the late Velama king recovered 'various districts of Telingana'. But the success of the latter was temporary. Ahmad Shah I returned to Telingana about 1433 and reduced them to vassalage.⁹⁸

Deva Raya II, too, on his part, could not forgive the alliance of Pedakomati Vema of Kondavidu with Firuz Shah Bahmani. Taking advantage of the weakness of his incompetent successors, he conquered

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 398-405. Sewell says, 'It is almost certain that Bukka III was the hero of the episode referred to (by Ferishta) though it may have been his son, Deva Raya II'. *HISL*, 214.

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 53-54.

⁹⁸ *IR* (Kondavidu), 325, cited by N. Venkataramanayya in the Introduction to *Velugotivaricamayali*, 33; and *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 96.

the kingdom and annexed it to his empire. An epigraph at Kondavidu dated 1432 records his grant to a Brahman of the place.

Ahmad Shah I died in 1436 and was succeeded by his eldest son with the title of Alauddin II. He inaugurated his reign by declaring war against Vijayanagara. He sent his younger brother, Muhammad Khan, with a powerful army against the Raya, 'who had withheld the tribute for five years, and now refused to pay the arrears'. In the light of what has been said above, it appears that this plea of tribute is advanced by Ferishta to justify the aggressive conduct of the Sultan. The war, however, ran its usual course, and finally Deva Raya II got peace by surrendering twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money, and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing.⁹⁹

But this peace proved only a truce, for Muhammad Khan, flushed with his recent success over the Hindus, raised the standard of revolt against his elder brother. He had entered into some secret pact with the Raya of Vijayanagara on his own account. Ferishta says that the rebel prince, having procured a considerable army from the Rai of Beejanagar to aid him, seized Mudkal, Raichur, Sholapur, Bijapur and Naldrug. Alauddin II promptly crushed the uprising and pardoned his brother. How he dealt with the Raya of Vijayanagara for his participation in his domestic quarrel is not mentioned by Ferishta. Saiyyid Ali, however, says that the Raya, taking advantage of the fratricidal war, 'invaded the territories of Islam, captured the fort of Mudkal and devastated all the surrounding country'. Alauddin II, after subjugating his brother, invested the fort of Mudkal and compelled the Raya to capitulate. In his usual manner, this chronicler states that the Raya agreed to pay his tribute in addition to a large indemnity. But the fact appears to be that it was not a major war between the Sultan and the Raya. Most probably the defeat and conciliation of the rebel prince resulted in the automatic withdrawal of the Vijayanagara army. This explains Ferishta's silence.¹⁰⁰

Deva Raya II, however, was much affected by his failure in his wars against the Bahmani sultans, notwithstanding his immense resources in men and material. Ferishta says¹⁰¹ that, in consultation with his ministers, he came to the conclusion that the superiority of the latter was due to their better horses and archers. Accordingly, he enrolled Musalmans in his service, allotted them jagirs, erected a

⁹⁹ Ferishta, 422; Saiyyid Ali does not refer to this war.

¹⁰⁰ Ferishta, 422-23; Saiyyid Ali, 73-74.

¹⁰¹ Ferishta, 430-32. According to an inscription of 1430 the Raya had ten thousand Turushka horsemen in his service. See EC, III, Sr. 15.

mosque in the city for their use and ordered a copy of the *Quran* to be placed before his throne for their obeisance in his presence without violation of their laws. Soon he had two thousand Musalmans, and sixty thousand Hindus well-skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot.

With this war machine, continues Ferishta, Deva Raya II resolved to conquer the Bahmani kingdom. So in 1443 he suddenly crossed the Tungabhadra, took the fort of Mudkal, sent his sons to besiege Raichur and Bankapur, while he encamped with his army along the southern bank of the Krishna. Within a period of two months three battles were fought, the Hindus being victorious in the first and the Musalmans in the second; in the third battle Deva Raya's eldest son perished and the Hindus fled from the battle-field in panic. They took shelter in the fort of Mudkal. Two Muslim officers entered the fort in pursuit of the fugitives and were captured. The Sultan threatened the Raya with dire consequences, if his officers were injured in any way. The Raya immediately surrendered the prisoners and promised to pay the Sultan annually the stipulated tribute on condition that he was not molested in future.

But Abdur Razzaq's account shows that Deva Raya II acted under great provocation. His minister, 'Dainang', had gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon, and during his absence, on a day between November 1442 and April 1443, the Raya's own brother (nephew according to Nuniz) treacherously killed his leading nobles and even made an unsuccessful attempt on the Raya's life.¹⁰² Sultan Alauddin rejoiced at this, and demanded of him seven lakhs of *varahas*, and failing compliance, threatened war. Deva Raya took up the challenge. The troops sent from the two sides ravaged the frontiers of two states. The 'Dainang', who had been recalled from the Ceylonese expedition, invaded the Bahmani kingdom, and after taking 'several unfortunate prisoners', returned to the capital. From Abdur Razzaq's contemporary account it is obvious that Ferishta has given a false and distorted version of the expedition. If the eldest son of the Raya had been slain in this war, as is alleged by Ferishta,

¹⁰² Abdur Razzaq declares that he was an ambassador of Shah Rukh of Persia. He stayed at Vijayanagara from about the end of April to 6 November 1443. 'Dainang' is apparently a corrupt form of the word 'Dannayaka (skt. Dandanayaka) i.e. a commander. The traveller took it for a proper name. The person referred to appears to be Lakkanna Dannayaka, 'the lord of southern ocean'. R. H. Major, *India in the XV century*, I, 33-35. The account given by Nuniz slightly varies in details, and his version is not quite reliable. According to him, the victim of the plot was Pinarao, who had succeeded Deva Raya II and had been on the throne twelve years before the abortive attempt on his life was made by his nephew. FE, 302-4.

the court of Vijayanagara would have been plunged in gloom, and this fact could not have escaped the notice of Abdur Razzaq.

According to the *Gangadasapratapavilasam*, not only 'the Sultan of the Deccan', but also 'the Gajapati' of Orissa sustained a defeat at the hands of Deva Raya II. The exact circumstances surrounding this event are not known. Kapilesvara Gajapati seized the throne of Orissa in 1434. Probably he made an attack upon the Reddis of Rajamahendry, who in their defence sought succour from their ally, the ruler of Vijayanagara. The victory of Deva Raya II over Kapilesvara saved the Reddi kingdom from immediate annihilation.¹⁰³

Deva Raya II was the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty. He is sometimes called Immadi Deva Raya. He is distinguished in inscriptions by the title of '*Gajabetekara*' i.e. 'elephant-hunter'. He not only maintained the territorial integrity of the empire, but also secured for it the natural frontier of the Krishna river in the north-east by annexing the kingdom of Kondavidu. According to Nuniz, the kings of Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicot, Pegu and Tenasserim paid tribute to him. The levy of tribute from Ceylon is confirmed by an inscription at Nagar.¹⁰⁴ He raised a new model army, infused fresh vigour into the administration, and dealt out prompt and impartial justice. He seems to have had definite leanings towards Vira Saivism; yet he extended toleration to every religion and sect. He had ministers who professed Vira Saivite, Jain and Vaishnavite faiths. He admitted into his council a Christian to supply the place of 'Dainang', when the latter had gone on an expedition against the Bahmani Sultan.¹⁰⁵ He gave facilities to the Muslims in his service for the observance of their religious tenets. He took keen interest in debates, and when Srinatha defeated his cour-poet, Dindima, in a disputation, he honoured the former with the title of *Kavi-Sarvabhauma*, and 'bathed him in gold coins'. The names of thirty-four poets, who flourished under his patronage, are known, among whom may be mentioned Chamarasa, Lakkanna, etc.¹⁰⁶

Abdur Razzaq gives a detailed account of the empire and of his interview with its sovereign. A few extracts from his observations¹⁰⁷ are reproduced in the following paragraphs:

103 *Further Source*, Vol. I, 101-5; *Sources*, 65-66; SGO, 39-40.

104 MER, 144 of 1916, para 60.

105 Abdur Razzaq, 40-41.

106 S. Srikanta Sastri, *Deva Raya II* in IA, 1928.

107 Major, 19-32. Abdur Razzaq recorded an account of his mission in his work, *Mataius Sa'dain*. Some passages from this work have also been translated in ED, IV, and commented upon by S. H. Hodivala in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 410 ff.

'If what is said is true, this latter prince (Deva Raya II) has in his dominions three hundred ports, each of which is equal to Calicut, and on *terra firma* his territories comprise a space of three months journey...' 'The country is for the most part well cultivated, very fertile... The troops amount in number to eleven lakhs (1,100,000).'

'One might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindustan to find a more absolute rai (king)... Next to him the Brahmans hold a rank superior to that of all other men...' 'The city of Bijanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there has existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other... The seventh fortress, which is placed in the centre of the others, occupies an area ten times larger than the market place of the city of Herat. It is the palace which is used as the residence of the king... At the gate of the king's palace are four bazars, placed opposite each other... The bazars are extremely long and broad.'

'Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the others; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazar pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth...'

'This empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into the most extensive details. In the king's palace are several cells, like basins, filled with bullion, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of this country, both those of exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artisans of the bazar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers...'

'Each of the seven fortresses alike contains a great number of places of prostitution, and their general proceeds amount to twelve thousand *fanoms*, which forms the pay allotted to the guards. These latter have it assigned to them as a duty to make themselves acquainted with every event which occurs within the fortresses; if any article is lost or stolen by thieves it is their duty to recover it; if not, they are bound to make it good...'

'Such are the details which relate to the city of Bijanagar and its sovereign. The author of this narrative, having arrived in this city at the end of the month of Zil Hij (the end of April 1443) took up his abode in an extremely lofty house, which had been assigned to him... One day some messengers sent from the palace of the king came to seek me, and at the close of that same day I presented

myself at the court, and offered for the monarch's acceptance five beautiful horses, and some *tokous* of damask and satin. The prince was seated in a hall, surrounded by the most imposing attributes of state. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men ranged in a circle. The king was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar, composed of pearls of beautiful water and other splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin, and he was rather tall; on his cheeks might be seen a slight down, but there was no beard on his chin. The expression of the countenance was extremely pleasing. On being led into the presence of this prince, I bowed my head three times. The monarch received me with interest, and made me take a seat very near him . . .'

'They presented to the humble author two packets of betel, a purse containing five hundred *fanoms*, and twenty *misqals*¹⁰⁸ of camphor. Then, receiving permission to depart, he returned to his house. Hitherto his provisions had been brought him daily consisting of two sheep, four pair of fowls, five *man*¹⁰⁹ of rice, one of butter, one of sugar, and two *varahas* of gold; and they continued supplying him regularly with the same articles. Twice in the week, at the close of day, the king sent for him, and put questions to him respecting his majesty, the happy Khaqan. On each occasion the author received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanoms*, and some *misqals* of camphor.'

Abdur Razzaq also refers to some of the public offices, such as the *dewan khana* (council chamber), the *daftar khana* (the archives), and the *zorrah khana* (the mint); he briefly notices the currency of the empire, and describes in flowing terms the 'mahavyamy' festival,¹¹⁰ which he witnessed during his stay at the capital. His account shows that the reign of Deva Raya II marked the zenith of the prosperity of the empire under the first dynasty.

This great sovereign passed away about the middle of 1446 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mallikarjuna Raya,¹¹¹ otherwise

108 'The name both of a weight and a coin, the value of which has much changed.'

109 'The Indian *man* has varied so greatly from place to place and even from time to time in the same place, that it is not always easy to say what it stands for.' S. H. Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 418.

110 Mahanavi: obviously it refers to the Mahanavami festival described by Paes in greater detail. See Sewell, FE, 262-75.

111 A few epigraphs mention the reforms of a king, called Vijaya Raya (II?). It is suggested that he held the sceptre for a few months just before Mallikarjuna Raya. See *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 66-67. Perhaps he was either the younger brother of Deva Raya II, or an elder brother of Mallikarjuna Raya. Nuniz places Pinarao and

known also as Immadi Deva Raya and Praudha Deva Raya. Some inscriptions shorten the latter two names into 'Deva Raya' which has led scholars to assign these records to his father. He also bore the title of *Gajbetekara*.

THE END OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

His reign commenced with notable victories but ended with the defeat and disruption of the empire.

In the *Gangadasapratapavilasam*, a contemporary Sanskrit drama, it is stated that *immediately* after the death of Deva Raya II, the Sultan of the South (Alauddin II) and the Gajapati ruler (Kapilesvara), who had been defeated before by Deva Raya II, marched upon Vijayanagara and closely invested it. But Mallikarjuna sallied forth from his capital and routed the besieging forces.¹¹² This account is doubted by some scholars, although there is nothing absurd about it.¹¹³ Alauddin II at this stage was immersed in a life of dissipation, and his kingdom was torn asunder by party factions between the 'foreign' (*afaqi*) and the 'Dakhani' nobles.¹¹⁴ He was not in a position to wage a successful campaign. Kapilesvara Gajapati, who had taken the kingdom of Orissa from the eastern Gangas, could hardly have acquired the requisite moral and material strength to conquer the citadel of the Vijayanagara empire, which had defied many organised assaults of the Bahmani sultans in the past.

Kapilesvara, however, did not abandon his ambitious designs. He changed his tactics, and seized the border districts of the neighbouring

his unnamed son between Deva Raya II and Virupaksha Raya and assigns to them arbitrary regnal periods. Probably Pinarao stands for the crown-prince and refers to Mallikarjuna Raya. See FE, 97, 302-5. An inscription of 30 September 1446 states that the king stopped the extortion of presents by the officials, which had been in practice *at the beginning of each reign*. So there must have been a change of rulers at this time, and the king who abolished the evil custom was Mallikarjuna Raya, whose earliest known records are dated 1447. See EC, VII, Sk 239; XII, Pg. 69; and XIV, Gu 126. According to epigraphical records, he was the *immediate* successor of Deva Raya II and hence there is no room for a Deva Raya III between the two as suggested by Sewell. See S. K. Aiyangar, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History*, 1-5.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 5-10. *Sources*, 65-66; SGO, 41-42.

¹¹³ R. D. Banerji questions the veracity of this account on the ground of improbability of an alliance between the Bahmani and the Gajapati rulers at this time. See his *History of Orissa*, I, 293-96. But it is very likely that the poet treated their simultaneous attacks as a joint-venture. That Kapilesvara threatened Hampi (i.e. Pampa or Vijayanagara) is noticed also in a record of 1458. See ARE 1934-35, para 37.

¹¹⁴ Ferishta (Briggs), II, 436; Prof. H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan's Political Thought and Administration* in S. K. Aiyangar Com. Vol., 128-29.

Hindu and Muslim states alike, whenever circumstances favoured him. The Reddis, the Bahmanis and the Rayas, each more or less, fell a victim to his aggressive policy. He annexed the Reddi kingdom of Rajamahendri sometime before 1450, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the forces of Humayun Shah, the successor of Alauddin II, in the famous battle of Devarakonda in 1459 and took Warangal in the following year.¹¹⁵ Vijayanagara was also deprived of its latest acquisition, the region of Kondavidu. Mallikarjuna Raya's efforts to prevent further mischief by taking up his position at Penugonda¹¹⁶ 'in connection with the business of Narasing's (Saluva Narasimha's) territory was of no avail'. The Munnur and Jambai inscriptions¹¹⁷ show that Kapileswara conquered almost all the coastal districts of the empire as far south as Trichinopoly, and some of them remained under the sway of the Oriyas till about 1472. He proved indeed 'a yawning lion to the sheep, the Karnata king', as mentioned in a lithic record of Jagannatha temple at Gopinathapur in the Cuttack district.¹¹⁸

Mallikarjuna Raya appears to have lost the vigour and initiative with which he had begun his career, and his reign witnessed the commencement of the decay of the Sangama dynasty. He was, however, a pious and devout monarch and maintained the noble traditions of his house in making gifts to temples and priests. His rule lasted till about the end of July 1465. He had two minor sons, Rajasekhara and Virupaksha, neither of whom held power beyond a few months. The contemporary epigraphical records show that the throne was usurped by his cousin-brother, Virupaksha Raya, who claims to have 'acquired the kingdom by his own valour'.¹¹⁹

Virupaksha Raya II was crowned emperor in October 1465. He was given to vice, caring for nothing but women, and amused himself with drink. In mere sottishness he slew many of his captains. He paid the least possible attention to affairs of state at a time when the greatest vigilance was needed.¹²⁰

The Bahmani kingdom was no longer the imbecile state of the

115 SII, V. No. 100; Salyid Ali (J. S. King), 83-84; *Bharati*, XII, 426 ff; IA, XX, 390.

116 EC, III, Md. 12 and 59.

117 Sewell, HISI, 224-25; and MER, 92 of 1919, 1 of 1905 and 93 of 1906.

118 JASB LXIX (1900), 173 ff.

119 'Virupaksha II' by S. K. Aiyangar in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 255-64. According to this scholar, 'Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha were sons of Deva Raya II by different wives.' But a closer study of the relevant records shows that Virupaksha was the son of Pratapa Deva Raya, one of the younger brothers of Deva Raya II. See JAHRS, VII, 211 ff. *Further Sources*, I., Ch. XIII, 123-25.

120 Srisailem Plates, EI, XV, 10, 24; and Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 305.

inglorious days of Humayun Shah. Humayun had perished in September 1461, and his eldest son and successor, Nizam Shah, followed him to the grave after a short rule of about a couple of years. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Muhammad Shah III, in August 1463, at a very tender age. Still under the wise administration of the queen-mother and ministers like Mahmud Gawan, the internal factions were temporarily set at rest, and the kingdom once more regained its status as a great power in Deccan politics.

On the other hand, Kapilesvara Gajapati's death early in 1468 was followed by a quarrel between his sons, Hamvira and Purushottama, which considerably weakened the kingdom of Orissa, and gave its quondam victims a good opportunity to retaliate. But Virupaksha Raya failed to realize the trend of political events. In an irritable mood in 1469 he ordered the extirpation of all Musalmans of Bhatkal, simply because they had sold horses to the Bahmani Sultan. About 10,000 Musalmans were massacred and the survivors fled and settled at Goa. This indiscriminate slaughter was a folly as well as a crime, and brought prompt retribution in its wake. Probably to give protection to the refugees, Mahmud Gawan attacked Goa by land and sea. Before the Raya could oppose his design, he took possession of it, and garrisoned it with his own men. In 1472, after a lapse of nearly two years, the Raya thought of recovering the place. But he was not the man to assume leadership. He contented himself with instigating the feudatory chiefs of Belgaum and Bankapur to retake it. Muhammad III anticipated their move, and himself made an attack on the fort of Belgaum, and reduced its chief to submission. Thus the empire lost the region of Belgaum as well.¹²¹

The greatest blow to Virupaksha Raya's power and prestige was struck on the east coast, where his authority was reduced to almost nothing. Taking advantage of the quarrel between the sons of Kapilesvara Gajapati, Muhammad Shah III recovered Telingana and put his own garrisons in the forts of Kondavidu, Rajamahendri and Warangal, while Saluva Narasimha, *on his own account*, captured the country along the east coast as far north as Masulipatam, and even threatened Rajamahendri in 1476. He also 'added much of the Vijayanagara territory to his own by conquest'. Virupaksha Raya passively acquiesced in these political developments. But Muhammad Shah III was made of sterner stuff. He not only prevented Saluva Narasimha from taking Rajamahendri, but also declared war against him in 1480, because the latter 'excited the zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel'. Narasimha avoided battle so that the

¹²¹ Sewell, FE, 99; Ferishta (Briggs), II, 485, 491-93.

Sultan reached Kanchi, 'situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one, containing temples which were the wonder of the age'. The Musalmans entered the chief temple, plundered it and slew the attendant priests. They also sacked the city and took away abundant treasures. Due to the worthless character of Virupaksha Raya, the Vijayanagara empire not only met with territorial losses, but also the very ideals for which it stood were ruthlessly trampled under feet at Kanchi by its hereditary foes.¹²² It was reduced to such an abject condition that Nikitin, the Russian traveller, who visited the Deccan during this period, was led to believe that the capital city itself was taken by them.¹²³

However, the triumph of the Bahmani Sultan over the two neighbouring Hindu states proved transitory. It was like the sudden flaring up of a dying lamp. Soon the tables were turned; Isvara Nayaka, the commander-in-chief of Saluva Narasimha, appears to have made a surprise attack on the retreating forces of Muhammad III at Kandukur, and compelled them to relinquish the rich booty which they were carrying away from Kanchi.¹²⁴ The Bahmani kingdom itself succumbed to the internal party strife, which culminated in the unjust execution of the great minister, Mahmud Gawan, in April 1481. When it was too late, Muhammad Shah III discovered his blunder, and tried to drown his remorse in drink until he died of excesses in March 1482.¹²⁵ With the death of the Sultan and his talented minister, the Bahmani dynasty practically ceased to exercise any power. It is true that Mahmud Shah, son of the late Sultan, occupied the throne of Bidar for nearly thirty-seven years. But his was an inglorious reign; Purushottama Gajapati humbled his rival, Hamvira, expelled the Muslim garrisons from Rajamahendri, Kondapalle and Kondavidu, and reestablished Hindu supremacy as far as the river Brahmakundi (Gundlakamma) in the south before 1488.¹²⁶ But this was an insignificant loss to the Bahmani dynasty in comparison with what befell it due to internal disintegration. Impelled by the indiscretion of youth, Mahmud Shah devoted his time to pleasures of all sorts without attending, in the least, to the safety of

122 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 487-88, 497-501; N. Venkataramanayya, *Purushottama Gajapati in the Proc. & Trans. of the Eighth All India Oriental Conf.*, 585 ff. and 'Muhammad Shah Lashkari's expedition against Kanchi' in K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar *Com. Vol.*, 307 ff.

123 Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, III, 29.

124 N. Venkataramanayya, *Muhammad Shah Lashkari's Expedition to Kanchi*, *loc. cit.*, 312-13; *Sources*, Nos. 32 and 35.

125 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 501-18; Saiyyid Ali, 113-16.

126 N. Venkataramanayya, *Purushottama Gajapati*, *loc. cit.*

his state. There was a scramble for power among the big amirs; Qasim Barid, the premier, took the reins of government into his own hands and assumed sovereign authority, so that except the royal title nothing remained to the Sultan. The attempts of other amirs to free him from the clutches of Qasim recoiled on their own heads, so that in disgust they retired to their respective provincial headquarters, and within a few years set up their own independent sultanats.¹²⁷ About the time of Mahmud Shah's death in 1518, the Bahmani kingdom was restricted to Bidar and the districts surrounding it.

¹²⁷ The Imad Shahi of Berar in 1484; the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar in 1489; the Adil Shahi of Bijapur in 1489; and the Qutb Shahi of Golkonda in 1512. The Barid Shahi of Bidar was founded in 1527 by Amir Barid, son of Qasim Barid, who played the role of a king-maker for sometime and then assumed the crown himself. Thus ended the Bahmani dynasty.

II. THE SALUVA DYNASTY

SALUVA NARASIMHA

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE WAS rescued from a similar catastrophic fate of dissolution by the timely and energetic action of Saluva Narasimha. But this was not achieved without a revolution. The Sangama dynasty, disgraced and ruined by Virupaksha Raya, had to give place to a new line of rulers. When and how exactly this momentous event occurred are not clearly known.

A comparative study of the available epigraphical and literary evidence reveals that there existed a close relationship between the Sangama rulers and the Saluva family to which Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty, belonged. Both regarded themselves as members of the Yadava family and the lunar race. Saluva Mangul served Kumara Kampana in his campaign against the Sultan of Madura, and several of his successors held important positions in the empire of Vijayanagara. His grandson, Tipparaja, married Harima, the elder sister of Deva Raya II. Saluva Narasimha was a nephew of this Tipparaja, and so Nuniz is right when he says that he was 'in some manner akin to' the last ruler of the Sangama family. He received a liberal education in Sanskrit and succeeded his father as governor of Chandragiri in the modern district of Chittoor. The Sanskrit poems, *Saluvabhyudayam* and *Ramabhyudayam*, and the Telugu poem, *Jaimini Bharatamu*, credit him with a number of conquests covering nearly the entire length of India from the Himalayas to Ramesvaram.² Throughout his progress every ruler made his submission and paid tribute; even the king of Ceylon sent a respectful embassy. But sober historical facts belie these exaggerated claims. The Muslim and Portuguese chronicles show that he was practically powerless to stem the tide of aggression on the east coast during the days of Kapilesvara Gajapati and Muhammad Shah III. It was only after the death of Kapilesvara, and the consequent war of succession in Orissa, that he could wrest the fort of Udayagiri from the Gajapatis, and by 1476 make himself master of the east coast up to Rajamahendri. But he could not prevent Muhammad Shah III from

¹ He was the first member of the family who received the sobriquet of Saluva, because he fell upon his foes like a falcon (*saluva*) on its prey. For the early history of the Saluvas and their positions in the Vijayanagara empire, see JA, VII, 74 ff; ASR, 1908-9, 165 ff; and JAHRAS, IX, 15-22.

² Sources, Nos. 33, 29 and 31.

occupying the last named place or making a raid into Kanchi in 1481. He increased his territory and power mostly at the expense of his own sovereign, as mentioned by Ferishta, and finally usurped the throne.

The events immediately preceding this revolution are briefly narrated by Nuniz.³ He says that the nobles of the empire revolted against the tyrannical rule of Virupaksha Raya, and asserted their independence. Finally the Raya was killed by his eldest son, who on being filled with remorse, gave the crown to his younger brother, 'Padearao'. The latter unscrupulously slew his benefactor to avert the same fate overtaking him, and then plunged headlong into a life of dissipation and crime. Then 'Narsyngua, who was in some manner akin to him', with a view to *save the empire* from further ruin, appealed to the patriotism and self-interest of the other nobles, and with their cooperation planned his overthrow. The infatuated sovereign did not heed the repeated warnings of his well-wishers, and when the captain of the army of 'Narsyngua' actually captured the imperial palace, he fled by the back-door. The captain, instead of pursuing the craven monarch, quietly took possession of the city and invited his master to occupy the vacant throne.

The above account receives some corroboration from epigraphical and literary records. 'Padearao' may be identified with Praudhadeva Raya mentioned in an inscription⁴ of 1486, and 'Narsyngua' with Saluva Narasimha, whose conquests are described in the Sanskrit poems, *Saluvabhyudayam* and *Ramabhyudayam*. His captain appears to have been Narasa Nayaka, who, according to the Telugu poem, *Parijatapaharanamu*, captured the city of Vidyapura 'when the lord of the Kuntala (Vijayanagara) country was in trouble'. Indeed this poem and another Telugu poem, *Varahapuramam*, ascribe to Isvara and his son, Narasa, of the Tuluva family, the conquest of a number of forts within and outside the empire.⁵ Although there is no means of arranging them in any chronological order with absolute certainty, yet some of them at least appear to have been acquired in the course of the campaign that culminated in the expulsion of the last prince of the Sangama dynasty.

The latest known record of Virupaksha Raya is dated 29 July 1485, while Saluva Narasimha appears for the first time with full imperial titles in a copper-plate grant of 1 November 1486. Between these two dates the effete Sangama dynasty must have been replaced by the more vigorous Saluva dynasty.⁶

³ Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 305-7.

⁴ 593 of 1902.

⁵ *Sources*, Nos. 32 and 35.

⁶ EC, X, Mb. 104 and Tm. 54.

In usurping the throne Saluva Narasimha roused the jealousy of a number of unruly vassals of the empire, who had for sometime been defying the authority of the central government with impunity. His vigorous measures against them no doubt assured his position, but did not save the realm from the loss of certain strategic places. Internal factions thwarted him from taking effective measures against foreign foes. Purushottama Gajapati, after subduing his brother Hamvira, started on a campaign against Saluva Narasimha. He retook Kondavidu, Udayagiri and other fortresses, and between 1484 and 1489, deprived Vijayanagara of the entire east coast as far south as the Gundlakamma river. The *Sarasativilasam* of Prataparudra and his inscriptions assert that Purushottama captured alive Saluva Narasimha in the battle of Udayagiri, and the latter purchased his freedom by surrendering to the victor the fort of Udayagiri and the dependent territories.⁷ With all the resources of the empire, the Saluva usurper does not appear to have shaken the aggressors, who had firmly entrenched themselves in Goa, Belgaum, Kondavidu, Udayagiri, Raichur and Mudkal.

'Still it cannot be denied that Saluva Narasimha rescued the empire from complete dissolution and regained (almost) all the lands which the kings, his predecessors, had lost.' He also strengthened the army by offering tempting terms for the import of horses from Ormuz and Aden. His military genius and charitable temper received the well-merited encomiums of Sanskrit and Telugu poets. His patriotism and statesmanship are revealed in his last testament in which, according to Nuniz, he mentioned some of the forts that remained to be taken, and entrusted the care of the empire and of his two sons to his valiant general, Narasa Nayaka. He charged him to administer the state during the minority of the princes and then to deliver it up to '*whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it*'. He died sometime in 1491, after a reign of about five years.⁸ His last testament opened the way for the establishment of the Tuluva dynasty.

THE REGENT NARASA NAYAKA

Although the accounts of this period as given by Nuniz and Ferishta differ in names and details, both create the impression that

7 226 of 1935-36. *Further Sources*, III, Nos. 88 and 89.

8 The statement of Nuniz that he ruled for forty-four years appears to cover his entire career, first as ruler of Chandragiri and then as emperor. Saluva Narasimha's latest inscription is dated 14 October 1490 (MER, 269 of 1931-32) and the first available record of his son and successor with imperial titles is dated 28 November 1491. See *Further Sources*, I, 146.

Narasa Nayaka betrayed the trust reposed in him by his master and eventually usurped the throne. But inscriptions serve to correct this erroneous idea and to fill up the lacunae in the two accounts. In the light of all available evidence it is now clear that Narasa Nayaka, far from being disloyal, tried his best to carry out the wishes of his master. His loyalty and statesmanship were soon put to test. Events in the Bahmani kingdom had taken such a turn that party factions rendered the young Sultan Mahmud Shah quite powerless. Qasim Barid, who had secured the confidence of the Sultan, resolved to crush Yusuf Adil Khan, who had not only declared his independence in his principality, but also seized the lands from the river Bhima to Bijapur. Qasim Barid invited the Raya of Vijayanagara to his assistance by promising to cede to him the forts of Raichur and Mudkal. This was Narasa Nayaka's opportunity to fulfil the testament of his late master. He immediately designated the elder prince⁹ as the future emperor and despatched forces to the Bijapur front. A great battle was fought at Manuva about the end of 1491 in which Yusuf was thoroughly beaten, and the coveted forts of Raichur and Mudkal were recovered for Vijayanagara. But this triumph was short-lived. The choice of the sovereign from among the two princes was not an easy task. Probably his selection of the elder prince was challenged and caused dissensions which, according to Ferishta, led to the invasion of the Vijayanagara territory by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. In the face of the foreign danger, Narasa Nayaka, somehow settled the dispute at home, and advanced 'with the young Raya' to meet the foe. A battle was fought in April 1493, in which he was victorious. But due to indiscipline in his army, the victory was changed into a defeat, Raichur and Mudkal were once again lost, and during the retreat the young sovereign died of his wounds. The opponents of Narasa Nayaka tried to undermine his authority by foisting the blame for the death of the elder prince upon him. But the latter discomfited them all by promptly placing the second prince, called Tamarao by Nuniz, on the throne. The name, Tamarao, is evidently a corruption of the title Tammayadeva Maharaya or Dharmaraya borne by Immadi Narasimha, (the second) son of Saluva Narasimha, in a few of his epigraphs. Immadi Narasimha's inscriptions show that he reigned over the whole of the empire from about the close of 1493 up to, and even beyond 1503, in which year (in all probability) Narasa Nayaka passed away. Thus there is no truth in Ferishta's assertion that Timaraj (i.e. Narasa Nayaka) violently seized

⁹ The elder prince may be identified with Thimmabhupala, a son of Saluva Narasimha, who, according to *Tatcachintamani*, was *yuvaraja* under his father (Adyar Library Bulletin, I, Part III, 91-92).

the crown or in the account given by Nuniz that Narasa Nayaka treacherously usurped the throne by compassing the death of Tamarao (i.e. Immadi Narasimha).¹⁰

But curiously enough, the literary works make no mention of Immadi Narasimha, probably because he was only a *roi faineant* while the *de facto* ruler of the land remained Narasa Nayaka, to whose care Saluva Narasimha had made over his sons and the empire. In the inscriptions of Immadi Narasimha the place of honour is generally given to the regent, who actually *ruled* the state in the name of his young master, who was allowed to *reign* as a titular sovereign.

Narasa Nayaka does not appear to have had a peaceful time. The *Parijatapaharanamu*, *Achyutarayabhyudayam* and *Varadambikaparinayam* allude to a number of successful campaigns waged by him against the rulers of Bijapur, Bidar, Madura, Srirangapatnam, etc. The epigraphical records of his successors also recount his victories over Chera, Chola, Turushka, Gajapati and other kings.¹¹ Unfortunately there is no clue to determine their chronological order. It is not improbable that most of his wars were fought during the period of his regency, as Nuniz states that he 'made war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted.'¹² Still when he died in 1503 he left his late master's will only half-fulfilled since he could not recover any of the lost fortresses of the empire. In another direction also he failed in his duty. The Portuguese, under the leadership of Vasco da Gama, landed near Calicut (Kolikoud) in May 1498. During his second voyage to India in 1502 he imposed commercial restrictions on the chief of Bhatkal, who was a 'tenant' of the empire. Three years later Francesco de Almeida compelled the chief of Honavar, another vassal of Vijayanagara, to accept the suzerainty of the king of

10 According to Nuniz, after the death of Saluva Narasimha, his (elder) son was 'raised up to be king' by the regent, Narasa Nayaka. But one Tymarasa, with a view to ruin the regent, encompassed the death of the boy-king. The regent, who was wrongly suspected of the crime, promptly enthroned the younger brother of the late king 'called Tamarao'. But later he grew ambitious, secretly secured the assassination of the king, and usurped the throne. FE, 308-14. The epigraphical records, however, show that Immadi Narasimha (i.e. Tamarao) lived for some time even after the death of the regent. See 357 of 1912; EI, VII, 74 ff; JRAS, 1915, 383-95; S. K. Aiyangar, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History*, 54-71.

11 *Sources*, Nos. 35, 36 & 54; ASI, An. Rep., 1908-9, 170-71; *Further Sources*, I, 160.

12 FE, 310. For a discussion of the authenticity and chronological order of his campaigns, see *Further Sources*, I, 160-76. But his capture of Vidyapuri, i.e. Vijayanagara, may not refer to the incident of 1492, but to an event preceding the Saluva usurpation in 1486, when he captured the imperial city and made it over to Saluva Narasimha. This event has already been described.

Portugal. Immadi Narasimha and his regent appear to have left them to their fate, without extending to them the protection of the central government.¹³

VIRA NARASIMHA

Narasa Nayaka, according to Nuniz, left five sons; but inscriptions mention only four, viz. Vira Narasimha, Krishna, Ranga and Achyuta. Vira Narasimha also bore the title of Bhujabala,¹⁴ which appears to have led the Portuguese chronicler to designate him as Busbalrao. Soon after the death of his father, he succeeded to the regency, and *then* probably got rid of Immadi Narasimha in the manner described by Nuniz, who has erroneously attributed the crime to his father. The general revolt of the provinces, mentioned by the same author, was most probably provoked by some such conduct on his part. Indeed a person, who only a few years later ordered his chief minister, Saluva Timma, to put out the eyes of Krishna, his step-brother, with a view to ensure the succession of his own son, could hardly have hesitated to remove Immadi Narasimha to secure the crown for himself.¹⁵ The epigraphical records, however, praise him as a virtuous king who made gifts to almost all the great shrines of South India. But Nuniz says that he spent the entire period of his short reign in suppressing rebel chieftains. But only a few of the successful military operations of his reign are known with some certainty: one is the defeat and capture of Kacha, the rebel governor of Advani, and another is a victory over the Sapad (Adil Khan), who had advanced on Kandनावolu (Kurnool) with a huge army.¹⁶ According to the *Local Records*, the chiefs of Ummattur and Srirangapattanam remained defiant and unsubdued. In history the role of Vira Narasimha is that of the founder of the Tuluva¹⁷ or the third dynasty of Vijayanagara. With a view to ensure the succession to his own son, who was only eight years old, he ordered his chief minister, Saluva Timma, to put out the eyes of his step-brother, Krishna. But the minister saw that Krishna 'was a man over twenty years and therefore more fit to be a king'. Hence he yielded to the entreaties of the young prince and hoodwinked the dying king by presenting him the eyes of a goat.

13 Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, I, 82, 120.

14 EC; IV, Gu. 67; III, MI 95.

15 Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 310-14. *The Virappayya Kalajnana* does assert that Vira Narasimha Raya, having caused the death of Tammaraya (i.e. Immadi Narasimha), ruled for five years. *Further Sources*, III, No. 16.

16 N. Venkataramanayya's article in *C. R. Reddy Com. Vol.*, 61-71.

17 The origin of this name is not exactly known. The Tuluvas trace their descent from a mythical personage, Turvasu of the lunar race. See, *JAHS*, IX, 23 f.

III. THE TULUVA DYNASTY

KRISHNA RAYA

VIRA NARASIMHA'S LAST KNOWN DATE is 4 May 1509, and the first available record of Krishna as ruler of Vijayanagara is dated 26 July 1509. Sometime between these two dates the latter was proclaimed sovereign at the age of about twenty-one.¹ But probably due to the extraordinary circumstances under which he happened to succeed the late king, or for want of an auspicious day, his coronation was not celebrated till 8 August 1509.²

Krishna Raya was faced with multifarious problems from the moment of his accession to power. Even his title to sovereignty was weak. He was made emperor by Saluva Timma in defiance of the claims of the heir-apparent. The disappointed prince and his own two step-brothers remained a standing menace to his position. Gangaraja of Ummattur behaved almost like an independent ruler. Prataparudra Gajapati, the son and successor of Purushottama, held the coastal districts in the east down to Udayagiri, and even threatened the peace of Vijayanagara. At the time of Krishna Raya's accession to the throne, the Muslim rulers of the north were actually at war with Vijayanagara.³ On the west coast, the Portuguese were slowly feeling their way to political power. They disregarded the sovereign rights of the Raya of Vijayanagara in dictating their terms to his vassal chiefs of Bhatkal and Honawar. They defied the power of the Zamorin of Calicut in Malabar and set up their fortified factories in Cochin and Cannanore. They even defeated the combined fleets of Calicut and Egypt on 3 February 1509, and established their supremacy over the Indian Ocean. Their command of the sea gave them a monopoly of trading in horses, which they could use as a powerful weapon in their diplomatic dealings with the Indian princes. When their attempt to reduce Calicut ended in a terrible disaster in January 1510, Albuquerque turned to Krishna Raya for help. He sent Friar Luis to Vijayanagara to negotiate an offensive alliance against the Zamorin and to secure a site for a factory between Bhatkal and Mangalore; in return for these concessions the Raya was promised assistance in the conquest of Goa and a

¹ Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 314-15; MER 342 of 1892 and 703 of 1919.

² *Further Sources*, III, No. 19(a).

³ N. Venkataramanayya in JOR, X, 155-56, 165.

*monopoly in the supply of horses.*⁴ The Raya had not been on the throne for more than five months when the Portuguese envoy placed before him such far-reaching proposals. Their acceptance meant an immediate war against an unoffending neighbour, like the Zamorin, while their rejection was likely to paralyse the vital military interests of the empire.

Krishna Raya handled the situation with great tact and foresight. He confirmed Saluva Timma in his office and interned his nephew and step-brothers in the distant fortress of Chandragiri for his own greater security. He also examined the revenue and military affairs of the state, and realised the arrears from the defaulting governors. He avoided fresh complications by putting off the Portuguese envoy with vague answers, and made elaborate preparations for the defence of the empire and recovery of the regions lost by his predecessors.

The available original sources are not quite clear about the order and number of the wars waged by Krishna Raya. In the colophons of his *Amuktamalyada*, and in the chronicle of Nuniz there is no reference to any of his military achievements prior to his conquest of Udayagiri. But according to the *Rayavachakamu* and the *Krishnaraya-vijayam*, he first reduced Sivansamudram belonging to Gangaraja of Ummattur in Mysore, captured the forts of Mudkal, Raichur and Adoni in the north, and defeated the sultans of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda *before* marching against Udayagiri.⁵ His victory over the three Muslim kings at the beginning of his reign is also noticed in an official account prepared in 1604.⁶ But this does not make any reference to Sivansamudram.

According to the *Commentaries* of Albuquerque, it appears that the Raya was already at war with the 'King of Deccan', *before* he proceeded to subdue the chief (of Ummattur), 'who had seized the city of Pergunda (Penugonda)'.⁷ The account of Purchas⁸ shows that the Raya waged two wars against Idalcan (Adil Khan), son of Sabains (Yusuf Adil Shah), before and after the capture of Goa by Albuquerque in 1510. Since Ferishta mentions that Yusuf Adil Khan died sometime after he recaptured Goa from the Portuguese in May, it looks more probable that the Raya's first war was against Yusuf himself. That by the 'King of the Deccan' Albuquerque meant Yusuf

⁴ Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, II, 72-77 (Hakluyt).

⁵ *Sources*, Nos. 38 and 39.

⁶ Quoted by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the JOR, X, 154-56.

⁷ *Commentaries*, II, 76; III, 35-38. The arguments of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (JOR, X, 153) identifying 'King of the Decan' with Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani are very far-fetched.

⁸ Quoted by R. Sewell, FE, 125 n.1.

of Bijapur is clear from the content of the letter of Friar Luis, who says that the Raya 'took him in battle, but released him on his promise to serve him for ever'. The Hampi epigraph of January 1510, records the victory of the Raya as an accomplished fact. In his *Amuktamalyada*, he claims to have slain the Adil Khan during an uninterrupted expedition against the northern country. Ferishta does not notice these early wars of the Raya against Yusuf, but admits that he took the fortress of Raichur from Ismail,⁹ son of Yusuf, about the year 1512. Nuniz ignores these early achievements, and describes his military operations against the Gajapati, the lord of the land of Catuir, and the Adil Shah (Ismail) in successive order. His account of the Gajapati war carries the Raya only as far 'Symamdary' (i.e. Simhachalam in Vizagapatam district), while the *Manucharitramu*, a Telugu work, states that he went into the interior of Orissa and threatened Cuttack. The name 'Catuir' does not occur either in epigraphical records or in Telugu works. The logic of the chronological arrangement of Nuniz has led some scholars to identify it with Cuttack, and others to associate it with different places in South India.¹⁰ But as the description given by Nuniz of this campaign agrees with what is said about the siege and capture of Sivansamudram in the indigenous sources, it is reasonable to assume that the two accounts refer to the same event, and that the Portuguese chronicler committed an error in placing it in a wrong chronological setting.¹¹ There are several other discrepancies in the original material, which are responsible for the diversity of opinion among modern scholars regarding the events of the reign of Krishna Raya. However, the following facts can be gathered from a *comparative* study of all the available sources bearing upon the subject.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Krishna Raya found himself at war with Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, and defeated him sometime before January 1510. Timoja, the commander of the fleet on the west coast, persuaded Albuquerque to seize Goa, and 'intrigued with the Hindoos of the land to deliver up the city to the Portuguese'. The Raya, who had so far refrained from associating himself openly with the Portuguese enterprise in India, now informed the King of Garsopa, one of his vassals, that he would assist the Portuguese in retaining the place.¹² But he did not give any direct

⁹ Briggs, III, 44-45.

¹⁰ K. Iswara Dutt, *Campaigns of Krishna-Devaraya* in the JAHRS, IX, Pt. 4, 57-60; TTDI, Report, 181; and JAHRS, XVII, 154-61.

¹¹ S. K. Aiyangar in the *Hindustan Review*, 1917, 340.

¹² *Commentaries*, II, Chs. XIX-XXII, 138-39, 144.

assistance to them when Yusuf retook the city in May 1510. He, however, created a diversion by attacking the territory of Bijapur. Yusuf had to hurry back to defend his southern frontier against this 'more dangerous enemy', and in this struggle he appears to have perished sometime before November, 1510.¹³ His son, Ismail Shah, was a mere boy when he succeeded to the throne of Bijapur. His enemies fully exploited the situation; Albuquerque overpowered the small garrison at Goa and permanently occupied the city; the Hindus of Belgaum rose in revolt and renewed their allegiance to Vijayanagara; and the Raya not only occupied the fortresses of Raichur and Mudkal, but also appears to have liberated Mahmud Shah from the custody of Ismail and restored him to his ancestral throne of the Bahmanis at Bidar. It is this incident that seems to have earned for him the title of *Yavanarajya Sthapanacharya*, the earliest reference to which is found in an inscription of September 1514. His northern campaign came to a close in the early months of 1512 with a grand military demonstration against the kings of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda as far as the river Krishna.¹⁴

Now that his northern frontier was free from danger, Krishna Raya proceeded to chastize the rebellious chiefs in the interior of his dominions. His most outstanding achievements in this campaign were the defeat of Gangaraja of Ummattur in Mysore, and the capture of his island-citadel of Sivansamudram by draining off the Kaveri, which flowed round it. By 22 September 1512, this region was thoroughly subdued, and put in charge of Saluva Govinda, a brother of Saluva Timma.¹⁵

Having ensured peace and security at home, he made elaborate preparations to recover the eastern districts of the empire from the clutches of Prataparudra Gajapati, the King of Orissa. It was not an easy task. The Gajapati held a number of strong hill-fortresses fully

13 C. Ramachandraiya, *Date of the Death of Yusuf Adil Shah*, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, Allahabad Session, 1938.

14 Mahmud Shah appears to have been a prisoner for some time in the hands of Yusuf Adil (as stated by Fr. Luis) in consequence of the struggle for power between the latter and Amir Barid, son of Qasim Barid. After killing Yusuf in battle, Krishna Raya seems to have restored Mahmud to the Bahmani throne, which earned for him the said title. See *Commentaries*, III, Ch. I-IV; Ferishta (Briggs), III, 34; *Commentaries*, III, 36; *Rayavachakamu*, *Krishnarayavijayam*, and the official Report of 1604; and JOR, X, 154-76.

15 EI, VII, 11-22; MER, 180 of 1913; *Sources*, Nos. 38, 39 and 41; EC, III, Nj. 195. Nuniz does not refer to the Ummattur campaign. But his description of Krishna Raya's attack on the citadel of the 'land of Catuir' after the Kalinga war agrees with the account of his assault on Sivansamudram as found in Telugu literary works. See *Hindustan Review*, 1917.

garrisoned, and appears to have been in league with the neighbouring Muslim rulers of the Deccan in the later stages of the war. Krishna Raya organized separate campaigns for the reduction of key strongholds, and provided for their administration under trusted generals immediately after their capture. During the intervals between active military operations, he was either at Vijayanagara looking after the state affairs or at some sacred shrine of South India in the company of his wives, Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi, making precious gifts to the presiding deities of the place.

Udayagiri, the southernmost hill-fortress of the Gajapati, was first to be attacked in this war. The intense anxiety of Krishna Raya for success can be inferred from his three propitiatory visits to Tirumalai (Tirupati) hill in 1513 when he announced valuable donations to God Sri Venkateswara.¹⁶ Nuniz states that the Raya collected 34,000 foot and 800 elephants, and with this force he took it after a siege of a year and a half, and that among the prisoners was an aunt or uncle of the Gajapati. According to inscriptions the fortress capitulated on 9 June 1514, and the royal prisoner was an uncle of the Gajapati. The Raya returned to his capital and brought with him an image of Balakrishna as a trophy. He installed the idol in a 'jewelled *mantapa*' in the Krishnaswami temple at Vijayanagara.¹⁷

Kondavidu formed the centre of his military operation in his second campaign. According to Nuniz, the Raya defeated the Gajapati and put him to flight before taking the fortress. His inscriptions show that he captured the minor fortresses of Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda, Tangeda and Ketavaram, laid siege to Kondavidu and captured alive Virabhadra, a son of Prataparudra, and several other chiefs including two Muslim generals, Mallu Khan and Uddanda Khan. The fort of Kondavidu was taken on 23 June 1515. The Raya sent the prisoners to Vijayanagara and himself returned to it after a thanksgiving pilgrimage to the shrine of Amaravati and Srisailam.¹⁸

About the close of 1515 Krishna Raya started on his third

¹⁶ TTDI, Report, 151-52.

¹⁷ *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Udayagiri, Nos. 37, 38, 40 and 41; SII, IV, No. 253, 25 and 26 of 1889.

¹⁸ EI, VII, 18; TTDI, III, Nos. 76-78, 80 and 81; 196 of 1903; EI, VI, 106 ff; 18 of 1915. Prince Virabhadra was at first treated generously and appointed governor of a small province. EC, XI, Dg. 107. According to Nuniz, 'a wife of the king and one of his sons... and seven principal captains' were taken captive at Kondapalli. But his description of the siege of Kondapalli applies to Kondavidu. *Further Sources*, I, 204-7.

campaign to utterly annihilate the power of the Gajapati. He attacked Kondapalli where, according to Nuniz, were collected 'all the chiefs of the kingdom of Oriya'. The Raya made several of them prisoners, among whom was one Bijli Khan. With the fall of this fortress, the Gajapati lost courage and retreated to the north. The Raya followed him into his homeland, taking on his way a number of strongholds, like Anantagiri, Kandikonda, Nalagonda, Kambhammettu, etc. Finally he reached Simhadri (i.e. Simhachalam), erected a pillar of victory at Pottanuru, and in the company of his wives presented to God Varaha Narasima¹⁹ several costly jewels on 29 March 1516.

Both Nuniz and the author of the *Rayavachakamu* are agreed that the war was brought to a close by a treaty under which Prataparudra gave his daughter in marriage to Krishna Raya and ceded to him all land south of the river Krishna. But as to the time and circumstances of this treaty, they give different versions.

According to the *Rayavachakamu*, Krishna Raya, while still at Simhadri, compelled the submission of Prataparudra by a stratagem, and after marrying his daughter, he started back for his own country.

Nuniz says that Krishna Raya stayed at Simhadri for six months to meet the 'King of Oriya' (Prataparudra) on the battle-field. As the latter did not accept the challenge, he returned to Vijayanagara. Here he arranged a fencing contest between the 'son of the King of Oriya' and one of his own men. The Gajapati prince felt it extremely humiliating to be called upon to fight with 'a man of humble birth', and 'slew himself'. It was only after hearing about the suicide of his son, and pained by the continued captivity of his wife, that Prataparudra ransomed the latter by agreeing to offer his daughter in marriage to Krishna Raya.

However, other records are more helpful in fixing the appropriate trend of events.²⁰ According to an epigraph of Krishna Raya, he was back at his capital in June 1516. Then one of his inscriptions at Simhachalam indicates his presence there in August 1519. Certain verses in his *Amuktamalyada* refer to his worship of Balarama and Subhadra at Nilachala (i.e. Puri-Jagannatha), and the flight of the Gajapati from Cuttack. These stray hints suggest that the war against the Gajapati did not end with the setting up of the 'pillar of victory' at Simhadri-Pottanuru in March 1516. It looks very likely that while Krishna Raya returned to Vijayanagara in June 1516, he

¹⁹ Nuniz (FE, 319); *Rayavachakamu*, *Amuktamalyada* (Sources, Nos. 38 & 40). *Sangitasuryodayam* (Further Sources, No. 116(a)) and MER, 245 of 1899; and SII, VI, No. 694.

²⁰ MER, 457 of 1923; 244 of 1899; *Amuktamalyada* (Ed. V. Venkataraya Sastry), Canto I, v. 38 and Canto VII, v. 75.

left his army behind to pursue the campaign deep into the enemy's territory. After a short respite at his capital, he rejoined his army to supervise the military operations. Prataparudra was completely defeated and his metropolis was sacked by the Vijayanagara forces; he had, therefore, no alternative but to sue for peace.²¹ This must have happened sometime in 1519. Only on this assumption can the presence of Krishna Raya again at Simhachalam in August 1519 be explained. He was probably returning with his victorious army at this time after signing the treaty with the Gajapati, and on his way performed worship at the temples of Nilachala (Puri) and Simhachalam.

But before long Krishna Raya had to wage another war in defence of his northern frontiers. He had enough warnings of the coming storm. The presence of Muslim officers at Kondavidu and Kondapalli suggested some sort of league between the Muslim powers of the Deccan and the Gajapati. Much reliance could not be placed upon the verbal assurance of friendship given by the former. As a matter of fact, even when the war against the Gajapati was in progress, the officers of Ismail Adil Shah were busy on the west coast undermining the authority of the Raya; they attacked the chief of Honawar, and appear to have retaken Belgaum. The Raya realized his danger and made serious efforts to come to some understanding with the Portuguese for mutual advantage. The assassination of Fr. Luis by a Turk at Vijayanagara did not mar their good relations, and the exchange of embassies continued. Albuquerque at one stage intervened and persuaded Ismail to cease hostilities against Honawar. But the idea of a formal treaty between Vijayanagara and Goa did not materialize, because Albuquerque tried to exploit to his own advantage the rivalry of the Raya and Adil Shah for his assistance in the coming struggle.²² In the meantime Ismail nourished his grudge against Vijayanagara and succeeded in creating a party in his favour at Raichur and occupying the fortress.²³ This completely upset the work of the early years of Krishna Raya, and he had to unsheath the sword once more to decide the issue.

Nuniz has given a full and graphic description of the war which

²¹ 824 of 1822; SGO, 115-18. *Prabodhachandrodayavyakha* refers to the marriage of Krishna Raya with the Gajapati princess, Bhadra by name. *Sources*, 144. *Tukka Panchakam* is attributed to her, in which she is said to bemoan her neglect by her husband. *Sources*, 143.

²² *Commentaries*, 121-29; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 307-8; JAHRS, X, 80-83.

²³ It is only on this surmise that we can reconcile the conflicting statements of Nuniz and Ferishta regarding the cause of this war. See S. K. Aiyangar's article in the *Hindustan Review* for 1917.

throws considerable light on the military usage, army organization, camp life and commissariat of the Vijayanagara empire.²⁴ Krishna Raya first secured the neutrality of some Muslim rulers of the Deccan before starting his campaign. He marched with an immense host of foot, horse and elephants and laid siege to the fortress of Raichur. Ismail Adil Shah came to its relief with a large army and a superior contingent of artillery. On the southern bank of the Krishna, within nine miles of Raichur a great battle was fought on Saturday, 19 May 1520, resulting in Adil Shah's total defeat. His army was pushed back into the river with great slaughter, and he barely escaped with his life. His commander-in-chief, Salabat Khan, was taken prisoner while attempting to retrieve the fortunes of the day. An immense booty fell into the hands of the Raya; but he lost more than 16,000 men in the battle. He immediately began the siege of the fortress and compelled the garrison to surrender. His success was hastened by the aid given by a Portuguese horse-dealer, Christovao de Figueiredo, and his twenty musketeers, who with their arquebuses picked off the defenders from the walls. The Raya showed the greatest clemency to the inhabitants of the fallen fortress, guaranteed to them security of life and property and punished all those who indulged in pillage. But he paid no attention to the importunities and threats of the other Muslim rulers of the Deccan, whose ambassadors now waited upon him and pressed for the restoration of the conquered land to the Adil Shah. After making proper arrangements for the government of city, the Raya returned to Vijayanagara amidst general rejoicings.

In the sequel, Nuniz further states, Krishna Raya kept the ambassador of Ismail Adil Shah waiting for over a month before granting him audience, and then told him that he would restore everything and release Salabat Khan provided his master 'would come and kiss his foot'. But this abject surrender never took place, although the Raya led out his armies once more from Vijayanagara in search of the Adil Shah, occupied Bijapur for several days, and destroyed Gulbarga in anger. Ferishta does not corroborate the account of Nuniz regarding these developments after the battle of

24 See Sewell, FE, 323-58. But in the whole of his narrative only the portion relating to the battle and siege of Raichur can be taken as substantially correct, and may be preferred to the account of the same event given by Ferishta. (See *Ibid.*, 151-54.) Other portions dealing with the cause of the war, the number of the troops engaged, the date of the battle, and the manner in which the war was brought to a close need some modification in the light of more reliable evidence. In this connection Sewell's scholarly remarks on the date of the battle and the number of troops engaged are very useful. (*Ibid.*, 140-51.) There is only a single inscription which refers to this battle, 47 of 1906.

Raichur. Yet the Raya's attack on Gulbarga cannot be dismissed as imaginery, since it is mentioned not only in the Portuguese chronicle but also in contemporary literary works such as the *Amuktamalyada*, *Sangitasuryodayam* and *Manucharitram*. Nuniz, after making some statements of a highly controversial nature,²⁵ closes his description of this episode with the remark: 'After the return of the king of Bisnaga, which took place in the same year in which he had left, nothing more passed between him and the Ydalcao worthy of record, relating either to peace or war.'

With the triumphant victory at Raichur and the subsequent devastation of Gulbarga, Krishna Raya's active military career came to a close. He applied the closing years of his reign to devotional works and other cultural pursuits. He was the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns. Paes, who spent some time at his court, has given a glowing account of his personality. 'He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage.' His life was a series of efforts to restore to the state its lost power and prestige, and assure it a permanent peace. He proved more than a match for the contemporary powers of the Deccan and South India, and recovered most of the lost territories of the empire. As a warrior, a statesman and a scholar, he excelled all the other rulers of his time in India. There was no campaign in which he did not gain a decisive victory. There was hardly any important shrine in South India which did not receive his benevolent attention. The 'House of Victory', the Hazara Rama temple and the Vitthala temple at the capital amply demonstrate his religious and artistic taste.²⁶ He also built the outlying town of Nagalapur. His solicitude for the welfare of his subjects

²⁵ FE, 358. Nuniz states that in the fort of Gulbarga, the Raya found three sons of the King of the Deccan (whom the Adil Shah had kept there in captivity), made the eldest King of the Deccan, took the other two brothers with him to Vijayanagara, and granted them each an annual allowance of fifty thousand gold *pardaos*. Bandaru Lakshminarayana, a court-poet of Krishna Raya, says that the Raya liberated from Gulbarga three sons of the Sultan who had been harassed by the Sapada (i.e. the Adil Shah). (See *Further Sources*, No. 116(a).) Obviously both the authors are referring to the sons of Mahmud Shah Bahmani, who died in 1518. But according to Saiyyid Ali, Mahmud Shah had three sons, Ahmad, Alauddin and Waliullah, who successively occupied the Bahmani throne between 1518 and 1525, and the role of the king-maker was played by Amir Ali Barid. Nizamuddin Ahmad speaks of four sons, Ahmad Shah, Alauddin, Waliullah and Kalimullah, who succeeded one another successively on the throne of Bidar. Perhaps the Portuguese and Hindu authors post-dated the events, and confused places and persons associated with earlier events, which had won for the Raya the title of *Yavanarajya-sthapanacharya*.

²⁶ See *Hampi Ruins* by A. H. Longhurst. The temple on the Tirupati hill contains three statues representing Krishna Raya and his two wives, Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi.

became proverbial. Among his public works may be mentioned the enormous tank, which he constructed near the capital for irrigation purposes and which added to his revenues the sum of 20,000 *pardaos*.²⁷

He was a gifted scholar both in Telugu and Sanskrit. He was also somewhat of a voluminous writer, although only two of his works are extant—the Telugu *Amuktamalyada* and the Sanskrit drama *Jambavati Kalyanam*. His reign marked the beginning of a new era in Telugu literature when imitation from Sanskrit gave place to independent compositions, known as the *prabandhas*. His *Amuktamalyada*, Allasani Peddana's *Manucharitram*, and Nandi Timmayya's *Parijatapaharanamu* are some of the fruits of this new literary movement. According to tradition, his court was adorned by eight celebrated poets, who were known as the *ashta-diggajas*. He extended his patronage to Telugu, Kannada and Tamil poets alike. Every year at the time of spring festival he welcomed scholars from various parts of the country and rewarded them suitably.²⁸ Foreign travellers, like Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz, bear eloquent testimony to his efficient administration and the prosperity of the empire under his sway. The graphic description given by Paes of the *Mahanavami* festival, the review of troops and the revenues of the empire are of particular interest in this connection. The greatest achievement of the state under Krishna Raya lay in the toleration that prevailed in the empire. Barbosa writes, 'The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another.'²⁹

The last years of Krishna Raya, however, were rendered unhappy due to domestic misfortunes and threats of foreign invasion. The trouble commenced about 1524 when he appointed his son, Tirumala, who was only six years old, as *yuvaraja*. Within eight months

²⁷ Paes and Nuniz describe the construction of this tank. Sewell, FE, 244-45, 364-65.

²⁸ N. Venkata Rao, *Krishnadevaraya and his Literary Circle* in the VSCV, 231-232; G. R. Subramaniam Pantulu, *The Augustan Age of Telugu Literature* in the IA, XXVII, 244 ff; T. Achyuta Rao, *Andhra Literature in the Vijayanagara Empire* in the JAHRS, X, 215 ff.

²⁹ Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese official. He visited Vijayanagara about 1510. His account is rendered into English by M. Longworth Dames in 2 volumes. Dominago Paes was another Portuguese, who was at Vijayanagara about 1520. The English version of his narrative is published by R. Sewell in his *Forgotten Empire*, 286-90.

of this happy event, the crown-prince fell ill and died. According to Nuniz, Saluva Timma and his sons were suspected of poisoning him, and were thrown behind prison-bars. After three years, a son of Saluva Timma escaped from prison and raised the standard of revolt. He was subdued with great difficulty and once more cast into prison.³⁰ Taking advantage of these civil disturbances at Vijayanagara, Ismail Adil Shah marched against Raichur with the intention of recovering it, but retreated on hearing that the Raya was advancing in person to meet him. This was an intolerable situation. The Raya determined to teach him a lesson and retook Belgaum. He opened negotiations with the Portuguese for assistance; but before his project could be carried out, he fell ill and died shortly afterwards, sometime between 27 October and 28 December 1529.

ACHYUTA RAYA

His death created serious problems, the foremost being that of succession. Before his death he had made a will nominating from among the princes confined by him at Chandragiri his half-brother, Achyuta, as his successor, since 'he himself had no son of fit age for the throne, but only one of the age of eighteen months'. But this settlement was challenged by his son-in-law, Rama Raja,³¹ who sponsored the claim of his infant brother-in-law. A civil war was threatened between him and Achyuta's partisans, led by his brothers-in-law, the elder and younger Salakaraju Tirumala. Finally Achyuta Raya made up his quarrel with Rama Raja by giving him a share in the government, and ascended the throne of Vijayanagara in April 1530.

This truce indicated good tactics and came none too soon; for

³⁰ The story given by Nuniz that Saluva Timma and his relatives were blinded after this incident does not seem to be true. Timma and his brother, Govindaraju, figure as free persons in the reign of Achyuta Raya. See TTDI, Report, 194 and 227.

³¹ Rama Raja (popularly known as Aliya Rama Raya) was one of the great-grandsons of Araviti Bukka, who is described as 'the establisher of the kingdom of Saluva Narasimha'. His grandfather and his father greatly distinguished themselves as commanders of Vijayanagara armies. According to the *Anonymous Chronicle of Golkonda*, Rama Raja at first served as a trusted officer of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah. But later, being disgraced by the Sultan for his alleged cowardice, he 'took route to Vijayanagara, and entered the service of Krishna Raya, who shortly afterwards forming a high opinion of him, gave him his daughter in marriage'. Briggs (*Ferishta*), III, 380-81. How Rama Raja started his early military career under the Sultan of Golkonda is rather inexplicable, since all his ancestors held positions of authority and responsibility in the armed forces of Vijayanagara. However, it is a fact that he married Tirumalamba, Krishna Raya's daughter by Tirumaladevi (*Sources*, Nos. 56, 57 and 58) and espoused the cause of his infant brother-in-law. See N. Venkataramanayya, SHTDV, Ch. I.

Prataparudra Gajapati and Ismail Adil Shah made simultaneous attacks upon Vijayanagara in the hope of recovering what they had lost during the preceding decades. The Gajapati was, however, defeated and driven away. But the Adil Shah could not be disposed of so easily. He took Raichur and Mudkal after a siege of three months. Achyuta Raya had to acquiesce in this ominous development as he was confronted in the south with a formidable rebellion led by his minister, Sellappa *alias* Saluva Narasingha Nayaka, who had the support of Tiruvadi, the ruler of Travancore. He left the Adil Shah alone for the time being, and marched against the rebel minister. During this southern campaign, he spent most of his time in pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of Tirupati, Kalahasti, Kanchi, Tiruvannamalai and Srirangam, while actual fighting was done by the younger Salakaraju Tirumala. By 1532 the rebels and their allies had been crushed, and the entire south was brought back to allegiance. Rajanatha Dindima in his *Achyutarayabhyudayam* gives an account of this campaign and states that the Rava *then* moved north and invested the fortress of Raichur, 'having heard that the territory of the Adil Shah was seething with rebellion'. It appears that the death of Ismail Adil Shah in August 1534, and the dispute for the crown between his sons, Mallu and Ibrahim, encouraged Achyuta to make a bold bid for the recovery of the lost fortresses. Although Ferishta does not refer to this campaign, Dindima is supported in his account in material particulars by the Portuguese historian, Barros. Mallu Adil Shah could not offer any effective resistance to the Vijayanagara forces due to his domestic troubles, and sued for peace. But he was deposed shortly afterwards, after a reign of six months only, and his place was filled by his younger brother, Ibrahim. From a casual statement of Nuniz it appears that Achyuta reestablished his hold upon Raichur as a result of this war.³²

But these successes enabled the brothers-in-law of Achyuta to gather all power into their own hands, while he lapsed into a life of luxury and sloth. Rama Raja, whose influence considerably waned due to the demise of his infant brother-in-law in 1533, tried to stabilize his position by raising the standard of revolt. According to Saiyyid Ali, 'he rebelled against and overcame his lord, and having imprisoned him, usurped the kingdom'. Supported by the queens of Krishna Raya, he even arranged for his coronation. The opposition of Achyuta Raya's adherents, however, thwarted his ambitious designs. Yet he was not a man to relinquish power easily. He kept Achyuta in captivity and tried to legalize his position as regent by

sponsoring the superior claims of Sadasiva, the son of Ranga, who was an *elder* brother of Achyuta. His *coup d'état* so hoodwinked the world that the Portuguese historian, Correa, was constrained to remark that Achyuta 'had been king contrary to right', and that Sadasiva was 'the king by real right'.

But Rama Raja's triumph over his enemies was illusory. The nobles in the extreme south defied his authority. Hence he had to leave the capital to conduct military operations against them. During his absence, his own friends at the capital betrayed his trust and released Achyuta from prison. On this sudden development, Rama Raja patched up peace with the recalcitrant nobles and hurriedly retraced his steps towards the capital. Civil war was once more imminent in 1536.

In the meantime Ibrahim Adil Shah heard of the disunity in the Vijayanagara empire, and resolved to avenge the defeat sustained by his brother in 1535. He marched upon Vijayanagara and razed Nagalapur to the ground. In the face of such a formidable foe Rama Raja sought safety by retiring to his own jagir. Achyuta Raya, on his part, refrained from offering resistance to the invader, probably owing to the fear that the latter might join hands with Rama Raja. Rescue came to Vijayanagara from an unexpected quarter. Burhan Nizam Shah attacked the homelands of Bijapur and thus compelled Ibrahim to make a precipitate retreat. But the latter did not go back with empty hands. He secured from Achyuta Raya the retrocession of Raichur and ten lakhs of gold *pardaos*.

The remaining years of Achyuta's reign witnessed a deterioration in the moral tone of the administration. Acting upon the advice of his brothers-in-law, he ruthlessly exacted money both from his nobles and the public and alienated his subjects by his violent despotism. While the splendour of the empire was kept up, its *raison d'être* disappeared in an atmosphere of selfishness and brutality. Achyuta's hold over the southern provinces became lax, and the way was paved for the development of semi-independent nayakaships in Madura, Tanjore and other places. About the same time the Portuguese established themselves on the pearl-fishery coast in and round Tuticorin, and took the Paravas under their protection. It was feared that the empire would come to an ignominious end during the reign of Achyuta. Death, however, spared him from witnessing such a tragedy³³ by cutting short his earthly career about the middle of 1542.

³³ *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

SALAKARAJU TIRUMALA (USURPER)

His son, Venkatadri or Venkata I, succeeded him, while his maternal uncle, the younger Salakaraju, continued to exercise all real authority. The attempt of the queen-mother, Varadhambika, to free her son from the clutches of her unscrupulous brother only resulted in the murder of that young prince and other possible claimants to the throne, except Sadasiva, who appears to have been hidden in the fortress of Gutti. Salakaraju Tirumala now put on regal robes and began to indulge in the most atrocious cruelties. When Rama Raja and his brothers planned his destruction, he invited Ibrahim Adil Shah I to his rescue, seated him on the throne of Vijayanagara, and ordered rejoicings for seven days.³⁴

But to patriots this was an unbearable humiliation. A large number of them joined Rama Raja to retrieve the honour of their land. Open opposition under the circumstances being impossible, they feigned submission to the tyrant, and promised to be loyal to him for ever, provided he sent away the Adil Shah. The trick worked. The usurper believed in their protestations of loyalty and persuaded the Adil Shah to return home after paying him 'fifty lakhs of *huns*' as compensation for his trouble. Soon after the latter had made his departure, Rama Raja and his supporters broke their plighted word, and marched upon Vijayanagara with a considerable force. The usurper was taken by surprise, his followers deserted him in the thick of the battle, and he himself was caught and beheaded on the spot. Thus was avenged the murder of young Venkatadri. Rama Raja immediately brought Sadasiva, son of Ranga, from Gutti and crowned him emperor in 1543 with great pomp and festivity.³⁵

SADASIVA RAYA

Sadasiva Raya was recognized by everyone throughout his vast dominions as the emperor of Vijayanagara from 1543 to 1567, as is proved by his inscriptions which are found in every corner of the empire. But the real power in the state was exercised by the Triumvirate of Rama Raja and his two brothers, Tirumala and Venkatadri. Circumstances conspired to reduce Sadasiva Raya to a mere titular sovereign. When he came to the throne, he was not a man of strong character, and the environment in which he had been brought up

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. IV; Ferishta (Briggs), III, 82-83; Correa cited in FE, 182-83; *The Annals of Hande Anantapuram, Sources*, No. 56.

³⁵ N. Venkataramanayya, SHTDV, Ch. IV; H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Ch. I. Ferishta's dramatic account of the suicide of the usurper cannot be accepted since it is contradicted by contemporary and later literature of the Vijayanagara court.

had denied to him opportunities of training and experience. He owed everything—his life as well as his crown—to the unswerving support of Rama Raja and his brothers. They had considerable political experience and were highly connected. Their ancestor, the famous Aravidu chief, Somadevaraja, had fought against the officers of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the Deccan. A great-grandson of this valiant warrior was Araviti Bukka, who had been a general of the emperor, Saluva Narasimha. Other members of this family held commands of several forts under the sovereigns of the Tuluva dynasty. The fact that Rama Raja and Tirumala were sons-in-law of Krishna Raya and had saved the empire from the tyranny of the Salakaraju brothers further added to their prestige and marked them as natural leaders.³⁶

Indeed efficient leadership was the *sine qua non* for the survival of the empire after the debacle created by Salakaraju Tirumala's wicked conduct. His partisans had to be mopped up; the recalcitrant ruler of Travancore had to be taught a lesson; the activities of Portuguese on the south-east coast had to be curbed; and the neighbouring sultans had to be kept well under restraint from fishing in the troubled waters of Vijayanagara as Ibrahim Adil Shah I had done very recently. Sadasiva Raya was ill-equipped for such a task, and if he could hold the sceptre for about a quarter of a century, and Vijayanagara could witness the revival of the glories of the days of Krishna Raya, it was only due to the vigilance and diplomacy of Rama Raja. The Telugu work, *Ramarajiyamu*, gives a string of titles wherein the various victories of the latter are referred to. Although some of them are greatly exaggerated and even unhistorical, there is no doubt that he achieved enough to be hailed as 'the saviour of the Karnata empire from destruction'. He put down all the centrifugal forces with a strong hand, and his cousin, Vitthala, restored the authority of Vijayanagara over Travancore and the fishery coast.³⁷ But the problem of the neighbouring Muslim rulers was not so easy of solution. The drastic measures taken by him, although extremely successful in the beginning, ultimately recoiled on his own head and ruined his life's work.

The struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muslim powers started early in the reign of Sadasiva—almost on the very day of his coronation. Ferishta states that when Ibrahim Adil Shah I heard of the revolution in Vijayanagara, he sent Asad Khan to reduce the fortress of Adoni, but Venkatadri, who hurried to the relief of the

³⁶ ASI, An. Rep., 1908-9, 197.

³⁷ *Ramarajiyamu*, No. 57 in *Sources*; H. Heras; *The Aravidu Dynasty*, 140-53; *Further Sources*, I, 245-50.

garrison, succeeded in compelling Asad to retreat. But in the midst of his victory, he was overwhelmed by Asad's surprise attack, and was compelled to make peace. But soon afterwards, Ibrahim broke his faith and in alliance with Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar once more attacked Vijayanagara and occupied some territory. These aggressive acts of the Muslim kings led Rama Raja to abandon the traditional policy of mere defence, and to resort to methods which were most likely to divide and weaken the enemies of the empire. By force and diplomacy he created dissensions between the two Muslim allies, won over Burhan to his side, and, in alliance with him, inflicted a series of defeats on Ibrahim in three successive wars. Venkatadri played a very prominent part in these wars as the leader of Vijayanagara forces. By 1552 the Adil Shah had been completely crushed; Raichur and Mudkal were seized by Rama Raja, while Kalyani and Sholapur were occupied by Burhan Nizam Shah. During the period of these wars Rama Raja further weakened his antagonist by entering into a commercial treaty with the Portuguese by which the supply of horses to him was stopped. But when Burhan died in 1553, his successor Husain Nizam Shah I tried to upset the balance of power, and in alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, he attacked Bijapur territory in 1555. This caused a diplomatic revolution and threw the Adil Shah into the arms of his quondam foe, Rama Raja. The latter immediately marched in person at the head of his army to the assistance of the Adil Shah and forced the sultans of Golkonda and Ahmadnagar to retire to their own dominions.

When Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1557, his son, Ali, was compelled to seek shelter at the court of Vijayanagara due to the aggressive policy of Husain Nizam Shah. Rama Raja welcomed the young Sultan, treated him as his son, helped him in three successive wars against Husain, and put him in possession of Kalyani. Finally, the ruler of Ahmadnagar had to admit defeat and made peace with Rama Raja in 1559 by signing a most humiliating treaty. The ruler of Golkonda, who often joined hands with the ruler of Ahmadnagar, had also to make a similar submission. Thus for nearly two decades Rama Raja kept the Muslim rulers under his leading strings, and his military machine decided the fortune of every major war in the Deccan.³⁸

BATTLE OF RAKSHASA-TANGADI, 1565

But he had overplayed his hand. His frequent interference in the quarrels of the sultans disgusted them, one and all, although they

³⁸ Ferishta (Briggs), III, 85-123; H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. IV and V; *Further Sources*, I, 252-62.

had themselves keenly sought his alliance in times of their distress. He also grew haughty day by day and regarded the Muslim monarchs as of little consequence. He treated their officers with the utmost contempt, disregarding all diplomatic usage. His soldiers in the wars against Ahmadnagar indulged in all kinds of excesses. Ferishta writes: 'They insulted the honour of Muslim women, destroyed mosques, and did not respect the sacred *Quran*.' The inevitable consequence of this was the formation of a grand alliance of the sultans to humble the pride of the Raja of Bijanagar. Opinion is divided as to the person who took the initiative in this move. According to both Couto and Saiviyid Ali, it was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, while Ferishta states clearly that it was Ali Adil Shah, who first thought of 'curbing Rama Raja's insolence by a League of the Faithful against him'. But there is no doubt that concrete measures were taken by Ibrahim Quthb Shah of Golkonda to bring about reconciliation between Ali Adil Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who had hitherto been fighting for the possession of Sholapur. He persuaded the two sultans to eschew their animosities in the interest of the common cause and to cement their friendship by matrimonial alliances. Accordingly Husain gave his daughter, Chand Bibi, in marriage to Ali with the fortress of Sholapur as dowry, and his eldest son, Murtaza, espoused Ali's sister. Ibrahim Quthb Shah was himself a son-in-law of Husain, having married one of his daughters in 1559. Ali Barid Shah of Bidar also joined the confederacy.

While preparations for the war were in progress, Ali Adil Shah demanded from Rama Raja the restitution of Raichur, Mudkal and other fortresses; and when this was contemptuously turned down, as was expected, the combined armies of the four princes began their march on 28 December 1554 towards the south and pitched their main camp at Talikota. Rama Raja accepted the challenge and summoned 'all his dependants and rajas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon in defence of the empire'. There were rapid movements on both sides, and within a few days the opposing forces found themselves face to face with the river Krishna flowing between them. The Muslim allies finally gained possession of the only safe ford by a ruse, crossed the river and advanced towards the Hindu camp.

On 23 January 1565, the historic battle of Rakshasa-Tangadi was fought in the neighbourhood of the two villages, which have given their name to it. Rama Raja, then seventy years of age, showed conspicuous courage, and his brothers, Venkatadri and Tirumala, fought with great skill and determination. At one time it seemed as if the Hindus had won the day, and Ali Adil Shah and his ally of

Golkonda were preparing to retreat; but the tide soon turned, when the Muslim artillery wrought havoc in the ranks of the Hindus, and a cavalry charge added to their confusion. At this juncture two Muslim generals of the Vijayanagara army went over with their troops to the side of their co-religionists, giving the *coup d'grace* in the thick of the fight. Rama Raja was surrounded, taken prisoner and immediately executed by Husain Nizam Shah I, lest Ali Adil Shah should press for his release. The Hindus, seized with panic, fled pell-mell in all directions. According to Ferishta over one hundred thousand Hindus were slain during the action and in the pursuit that followed, and the plunder was so great that every private soldier in the allied army became rich. Venkatadri died on the battle-field. Tirumala made a hurried retreat to Vijayanagara only to leave it immediately for the interior (Tirupati?) with the titular sovereign, Sadasiva Raya, and his accumulated treasures. The proud city of Vijayanagara was left defenceless and fell a prey, first to the robber tribes of the neighbourhood and then to the revengeful rapacity of the victors. The city was left in ruins, when the four sultans departed from it laden with booty after a sojourn of five months.³⁹

³⁹ Ferishta (Briggs), III, 123-31; Rev. H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. IX and X; Sewell, FE, Chs. XIV and XV; EC, XI, Hk 6 and 7; *Further Sources*, I, Ch. XXI.

IV. THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY

TIRUMALA RAYA

YET THE EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGARA DID not perish on the field of Rakshasa-Tangadi, nor did the newly forged unity among the sultans, born out of common hatred of Rama Raja, survive for long to annihilate it completely. The defeat in the battle simply reduced the empire's military prestige, economic prosperity, and the extent of its territorial jurisdiction. The empire itself lingered on for nearly a century more, with ever diminishing territories and languishing revenues. Tirumala made peace with the sultans by surrendering to them 'all the places which his brother had wrested from them'. He even returned to Vijayanagara 'after the departure of the Deccanese' and tried to repopulate it. But due to the 'constant attacks of the Musalmans', he changed the capital to Penugonda, and governed the state in the name of Sadasiva Raya. In 1568 this nominal sovereign is still found as the acknowledged suzerain of the entire South. But in the following year Tirumala is said to be 'seated on the diamond throne and ruling the kingdom of Vijayanagara'. According to Caesar Fredrick, the son of Tirumala (Venkata II?) 'put to death the lawful king'. But inscriptions indicate that he survived in retirement until 1576. Thus ended the Tuluva or the 'third dynasty' of Vijayanagara and a fresh lease of life was given to the empire under the Aravidu or the 'fourth dynasty', to which Tirumala belonged.¹

Tirumala Raya started his reign under very trying conditions. The circumstances were worse than what they had been when the Triumvirate had assumed the leadership of the empire and saved it from a grave danger. As a usurper, he lacked the moral support of his subjects. Several nobles refused to acknowledge his authority. Ali Adil Shah began to entertain the idea of acquiring for himself 'a portion of the territory of Beejanuggar', and actually secured the consent of Murtaza, the son and successor of Husain Nizam Shah I. Probably to meet this ominous situation, Tirumala divided the empire into three divisions practically on a linguistic basis, and entrusted their government to his sons, Sri Ranga, Rama and Venkatapati. The first held his court at Penugonda and looked after the Telugu area; the second administered the Kanarese districts from Srirangapatnam; and

¹ Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Ch. X. Ferishta attributes to Venkatadri many of the acts of Tirumala. For inscriptions of Sadasiva until 1576 see the reference in the *Further Sources*, I, 300.

the third was in charge of the Tamil region and had his headquarters at Chandragiri, with the powerful nayakas of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee under his jurisdiction. Thus freed from the burden of direct administration, Tirumala devoted his entire attention to the major problem of the defence of the state. He did indeed succeed in suppressing some of the rebels and warding off an attack of the Musalmans on Penugonda, as is noted in some of the contemporary epigraphical records. But he could not go to the rescue of the Hindu chieftains of Turgal, Dharwar and Bankapur, when they were attacked and overthrown by Ali Adil Shah. As a matter of fact, he confessed his helplessness when the chief of Bankapur appealed to him for assistance.² In the midst of such depressing events, it is to his credit that he kept up the old cultural traditions of Vijayanagara. He built temples and bathing places for pilgrims at Kanchi, Srirangam, Seshachalam (Tirupati) and other sacred places. He enjoyed the company of poets and received from Bhattu Murti (Ramarajabhushana) the dedication of his work, *Vasucharitramu*. He passed away after a life of varied activity at the beginning of 1572.

SRI RANGA I

His eldest surviving son, Sri Ranga I, the viceroy of the Telugu districts, was immediately 'installed on the throne at Penugonda'. His reign was one of the most critical periods in the history of Vijayanagara. The aggression of the sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda was the chief cause of a further reduction in the extent of his empire. Ali Adil Shah carried his arms into the Kanara country and forced the local Hindu rulers to pay him tribute. He even made an attack upon Penugonda in 1575. It was the timely intervention of Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda and Hande Malakappa Nayadu of Bukkasamudram that saved the situation. Ali was beaten back and Penugonda was relieved. But soon afterwards worse days overtook Sri Ranga I. Hande Malakappa rebelled against him and joined the camp of his enemies. Ibrahim Qutb Shah also changed his mind, abandoned his Hindu ally and, in emulation of the exploits of the Sultan of Bijapur, began to despoil the Vijayanagara territories. With the cooperation of the Hande chiefs, he conquered the country round Ahobalam; he then laid his hands on the Telugu country and captured successively the fortresses of Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Tangeda, Kondavidu and Udayagiri. Only the death of the Sultan in 1580 brought a brief respite to Vijayanagara and arrested further losses. But the empire knew no peace. Some time before 1583 Virappa Nayaka of Madura

² Ferishta (Briggs), III, 131, 135-39; *Vasucharitramu* and *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavalī*, Nos. 66 and 92 in *Sources*; H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Ch. XI.

had defied the authority of the emperor and refused to pay tribute. Venkatapati, the local viceroy, assisted by Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore, quelled the rebellion. Sri Ranga I was not without some achievement to his credit. When opportunity favoured him, he subdued the 'insolent' Maravas of the fishery coast, and recovered the district of Ahobalam from the Musalmans. He died in the early part of 1585, leaving a much attenuated empire and no male issue. He was succeeded by his youngest brother, Venkatapati, the viceroy of the Tamil lands. The better claims of the princes, Tirumala and Sri Ranga, the sons of Rama, who was dead by this time, were overlooked due to their youth and inexperience.³

VENKATA RAYA II

Venkatapati Raya or Venkata II was crowned in January 1586 at Chandragiri, the headquarters of his viceroyalty, and shortly after his coronation he removed his court to Penugonda. The empire, although deprived of some of its northern provinces, was yet sufficiently extensive to demand constant vigilance. The trend of events in the reign of his predecessor had promised great prospects to its enemies, and they immediately proceeded to take advantage of the change of rulers to satisfy their ambitions. But Venkata II soon disillusioned them all. Instead of remaining on the defensive, he carried fire and sword into the camp of his foes, and practically 'conquered the throne of Karnata (Vijayanagara) by the strength of his arms.'⁴

The foremost of his antagonists was Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, son of Ibrahim, who had very recently imposed his suzerainty on several of the feudatory chieftains of Vijayanagara. Not long after his accession, Venkata II 'made some incursions and invasions' into his dominions, drew the Muslim forces to Penugonda, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. The *Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda* attributes the withdrawal of the Qutb Shah to the fear of an approaching spate in the river Krishna, which might have cut off all his communications. But the *Raghunathabhyudyam* states that 'many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penugonda when they learnt of his arrival'. According to the *Ramarajiyamu*, 'Venkatapati Raya collected his army and drove the son of Ibrahim as far as Golkonda'. There is no doubt that it was a remarkable victory for the Vijayanagara empire, and Venkata II deemed it worth recording in several of his grants. It restored confidence in the Vijayanagara arms, and

³ Ferishta and the *Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda* (Briggs), III, 139-40, 435; *Sources*, Nos. 73 and 74; *Further Sources*, No. 200b; *Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Ch. XII, and also 285-86, 301.

⁴ EI, IV, 270; XII, 187.

encouraged the jagirdars of the Telugu country to expel the alien rulers with the help of the Raya. The Sultan finally made peace with Venkata II and agreed 'that the river Krishna should thence forward form the boundary between their respective territories'. In the north-east corner, the empire regained *almost* the old limits as they had existed in the palmy days of Krishna Raya. Only the region of Kondavidu was still left in the hands of the Qutb Shah. In North Kanara and Mysore, the activities of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur did not bear much fruit, and the empire of Venkata II practically remained unshaken in this direction also.⁵

The greatest danger to his realm came not from these external enemies, but from his internal foes. Almost from the day of his assumption of the imperial authority, he had to carry on an incessant struggle against the rebels within the state. Petty chieftains and powerful barons were equally involved in it. But Venkata II was not the man to brook any kind of insubordination. His ministers 'compelled the recalcitrant chiefs to go to him and accept his suzerainty', and subdued those 'who broke their word'. By force of arms he brought back to allegiance the nayakas of Madura, Gingee and Vellore. He fought against three successive rulers of Madura to maintain the unity of the empire. He permanently occupied the fortress of Vellore in 1604 to prevent its nayaka from repeating the mischief. Probably in order to exercise a greater control over the vassal princes of the South, he retransferred his capital to Chandragiri. The earliest reference to him as 'ruling from Chandragiri' is dated 1602. When Vellore was taken, it was used as a secondary capital of the empire.⁶

During the latter part of his reign, Venkata II had to face two problems of unprecedented difficulty, arising from Akbar's imperialism and the advent of the Dutch traders in the eastern waters. Ahmadnagar capitulated to the Mughal arms in 1600, and Asirgarh was on the point of collapse. There was no guarantee that the Hindu empire of the South would be spared after the destruction of the Deccan sultanats. This was in fact suspected by the councillors of Venkata II, when an embassy from Akbar visited Chandragiri on a secret mission about this time, and Venkata II himself appears to have taken some precautionary measures to ward off a possible Mughal invasion. At any rate his military dispositions at this time led Fr. Coutinho, one of the Jesuits at his court, to think that they were intended 'for driving back the army of Akbar'. There was indeed considerable diplomatic

⁵ Ferishta (Briggs), III, 453-68; 186, 286; *Further Sources*, No. 205; *Sources*, Nos. 71, 79, 91; *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. XVI and XX, 416-18.

⁶ *Charuchandrodayam*, No. 78 of the *Sources*; EC, XII, Sl 84; *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. XV, XVII & XX; *Further Sources*, Nos. 206, 207, 211-19, 222, 228(a).

stir in the South when the Mughals began to feel their way across the Vindhyas, and it is found that in 1604 the envoys of both Akbar and Ibrahim Adil Shah II waited at Chandragiri for audience with the Hindu emperor. But things did not pass beyond the diplomatic stage since Akbar died in the following year.⁷

In his dealings with the European traders Venkata II displayed great tact and firmness. The unruly conduct of the Portuguese and their hostility to the Dutch threatened to create disorder in the state. The Vijayanagara sovereign was on the friendliest terms with the Portuguese. There was mutual exchange of embassies between Chandragiri and Goa. Philip III of Spain and Portugal wrote a letter to the Raya from Madrid in January 1607, thanking him for the protection given to the Jesuit Mission in the empire. The Hindu emperor fully reciprocated this friendship and even snubbed his own vassal, the nayaka of Gingee, when the latter permitted the Dutch to build a factory at Devanapatnam. He enforced his sovereign rights and got the Dutch expelled from their own settlement. Yet, when the occasion demanded, he put down the unruly behaviour of the Portuguese at St. Thome. But when in 1610 the Jesuit Mission was withdrawn from the empire due to their alleged subservience to the Hindu sovereign, things took a different turn. The Portuguese were no longer in favour. In the same year the Dutch were allowed to build a stone house and carry on trade at Pulicat with the assurance that their rivals would not be permitted to dwell there.

This created an intriguing situation. The Portuguese took the law into their own hands and expelled the Dutch from Pulicat on 9 June 1612. But their triumph was short-lived. The Dutch returned next year with force, turned out their commercial foes and erected another fortification (afterwards known as Fort Geldria) with the support of Venkata II. His death in 1614 postponed further developments in the matter.⁸

Venkata II was the greatest sovereign of the Aravidu dynasty, a man of ability and character. By his military genius and statesmanship, he succeeded in retaking the lands that had been lost in the days of his predecessor. He raised the status of the empire in the eyes of the foreigners so that 'several embassies' visited Chandragiri in 1604 and presented themselves at his court. He was also in direct correspondence with Philip III of Spain. According to one Portuguese reporter, he was 'a lord of great authority, prudence and understanding as much as any European'. Almost all the Portuguese

⁷ H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, 337-40.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch. XXI.

and Hindu authorities pay a tribute to his wisdom and valour, his generosity and love of learning. He was not behind any ruler of Vijayanagara in his liberal donations to Brahmans and temples. More than this, although himself a staunch Vaishnava, yet he welcomed the Jesuit Fathers to his court at Chandragiri in 1598 and granted them complete freedom to preach their religion and erect churches throughout his dominions. He held 'disputations on God, philosophy and mathematics with the teachers or philosophers almost every day'. The protagonists of Vaishnavism, Saivism and Christianity vied with one another to convince him of the superiority of their respective creeds, and he gave them all a patient hearing. Himself a great scholar, he was 'devoted to the protection of the learned'. Eminent philosophers, like Tatacharya, and poets, like Chennamaraju, Matla Ananta and Tarigoppula Mallana, adorned his court. With a view to foster learning, he and the nayaka of Madura endowed several colleges for the maintenance of professors and students, who were supplied with victuals, clothes and everything they needed. He also took a keen interest in the art of painting and had a number of painters at Chandragiri. He greatly appreciated European pictures and engaged two Jesuits to paint some masterpieces of Christian theology. His copper statue in the Tirupati temple is another proof of his artistic taste. Thus in every field of life, he left his mark on the pages of history. His reign witnessed the last flicker of the Vijayanagara empire before it was extinguished finally under his successors.⁹

SRI RANGA II

For this finale, Venkata II himself was partly responsible. By shifting the imperial headquarters from Penugonda to Chandragiri and then to Vellore about the middle of his reign, he rendered the northern part of the empire more vulnerable to Muslim attacks. More ominous than this was the manner in which he settled the problem of succession to the throne.¹⁰ He had altogether six wives, none of whom gave birth to a male child. One of the queens, who belonged to the influential family of the Gobburi chiefs, practised a fraud upon him by borrowing a baby from one of her maids and passing it off as her own son. To avoid a scandal, the Raya celebrated the occasion with festivities and married him at the age of fourteen to a daughter of Jaggaraya, the brother of the deceitful queen. Yet he never treated him as a son, much less as an heir, although he

⁹ *Ibid.*, 340, 445-46, 509, Chs. XXII, XXIII and XXV.

¹⁰ *The Story of Barradas* (1614) in R. Sewell's *FE*, Ch. XVII; *the Ramarajitamu, Sources*, No. 79.

conferred on him the significant title of *Chikka Raya*. Venkata's elder brother, Rama, the late viceroy of Srirangapatnam, had left two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga. Venkata II ignored the first and nominated the second as the heir-apparent. Three days before his death he bestowed upon Sri Ranga all the insignia of royalty in the presence of the nobles of the realm. But immediately after the demise of the great sovereign, Jaggaraya swore never to do homage to the ruler, but, on the contrary, to raise in his place his own 'nephew'. Supported by a few other discontented chiefs, he captured Sri Ranga II by surprise, imprisoned him with his family and put the crown on the head of his sister's putative son. The fallen monarch 'was deserted by all save by one captain'—Yachama Nayaka of the Velugoti family. This doughty champion of the legitimist cause cleverly managed to rescue from prison Rama, the 'middle son' of the dethroned emperor, which caused some desertions in the camp of Jaggaraya. When Yachama made persistent efforts to obtain the release of the chief captive also, Jaggaraya answered by massacring the entire royal family still in prison. This holocaust about the end of 1614 precipitated a civil war in which almost all the great feudatories of the empire banded themselves together on the side of the traitor; the Wodeyar of Srirangapatnam remained neutral; only Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore hastened to the assistance of Yachama and Prince Rama. After more than two years of warfare with changing fortunes, Jaggaraya was killed in action at Topur (modern Tohur) on the southern bank of the Kaveri; his allies gradually dispersed; and the lawful prince was raised to the throne as Ramadeva Raya early in the year 1617. This war of succession shook the empire to its very foundations, and the battle of Topur proved more disastrous than that of Rakshasa-Tangadi in hastening its dissolution.¹¹

RAMADEVA RAYA

At the commencement of his reign, Ramadeva Raya was a boy-suzerain of a shadow empire. Yatiraja, the younger brother of the traitor, kept up the struggle for some time. But after the death of the putative son of Venkata II in 1619, he made peace with Ramadeva, gave him his daughter in marriage and thus acquired a position of power behind the throne. This created further complications. The rivalry between him and Yachama once more divided the court into

¹¹ *Ibid.* Also *Raghunathabhyudayam* (Sanskrit drama and Telugu historical poem of that name), *Sahityaratnakara*, *Bahulasvacharithram*; *Sources*, Nos. 91, 86, 90 and 93; Heras, *Civil War of Vijayanagara in JIHR*, V, 164-84; *Further Sources*, Nos. 231 and 232. Topur = Tohur, a village near Trichinopoly.

two factions. The nayakas of Madura and Gingee practically asserted their independence. The Portuguese at St. Thome forcibly occupied the local fortress and were devising ways and means of expelling the Dutch from Pulicat. There was also a recrudescence of Muslim invasions, and Kurnool was taken permanently by the Sultan of Bijapur in 1624. Ramadeva had to struggle all the years of his reign to get the empire under his control.¹² He passed away in 1630 before he had attained the age of twenty-five. Probably having no son of his own, he nominated Peda Venkata, a grandson of Rama Raja, as his heir.

VENKATA III

Peda Venkata or Venkata III appears to have been a man of peace. He followed a policy of *laissez-faire* towards the great lords of the realm. The chiefs of Madura, Mysore and Kalahasti, on their part, simulated allegiance to him by acknowledging his sovereignty in their grants. Both the suzerain and the feudatories managed their affairs so tactfully that an open clash between the two was avoided during the reign. Venkata's rule is noteworthy for the grant of Kowl in 1639 by his powerful minister, Damerla Venkatappa, to the English factors, allowing them to build a fort at Madraspatam, which in due course developed into Fort St. George. Against the sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda he was not very successful. These sultans secured peace from Shah Jahan in 1636 and once more began to press upon the Hindu empire. The Sultan of Bijapur began to extend his dominions southwards into Mysore and then eastwards into Karnataka, while the armies of Golkonda advanced to the Bay of Bengal and along the Coromandal coast. Venkata III could preserve his position only by surrendering much wealth to the Adil Shah and some territory to the Quth Shah. To prevent further mischief he entrusted the defence of the frontier to his nephew, Sri Ranga, and shortly afterwards passed away on 10 October 1642. After some delay, this nephew was elevated to the throne on 29 October 1642.¹³

12 S. K. Aiyangar, *Ramaraya of Vijayanagara in Sardesai Com. Volume*, 203-12.

13 This and the subsequent paragraphs are based upon: (1) H. Krishna Sastri's article on the *Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* in ASIAR, 1911-12, 189 ff; (2) Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyer, *Sriranga III of Vijayanagara* in the *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*; (3) Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Srirangarayalu* in JIH, XVIII, 1-45; (4) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Last Days of Vijayanagara in Sardesai Com. Volume*; (5) Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nayakas of Madura*; (6) Professor J. N. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V; and (7) *Further Sources*.

SRI RANGA III AND AFTER

Sri Ranga III was the last great ruler of the Vijayanagara empire. His entire reign consisted of a series of efforts to vindicate his rights against the encroachments of internal and external foes. An influential section of the nobility did not like his accession to power. The provincial governors treated the sovereign with scant courtesy and behaved almost like independent rulers. There was also a general apprehension that the whole of the east coast might soon become subject to Muslim rule. Damerla Venkatappa actually 'did make proffer to assist the Moors' in their enterprise; and when Sri Ranga III put him in prison, his younger brother, Ayyappa, organized a revolt to rescue the traitor. The attitude of the nayakas of Madura and Gingee at this critical moment was not above suspicion. The factory records of the Dutch and the English as well as the Jesuit letters throw some light on the measures adopted by Sri Ranga III to save the empire, such as it was, from imminent dissolution. His first move was to enforce discipline among his greater lords so that a united stand might be made against foreign enemies. Without losing time in futile negotiations, he set his armies in motion against Tirumala Nayaka of Madura. The latter entered into an agreement with his neighbours of Tanjore and Gingee to arrest the progress of the emperor. But shortly afterwards, Vijaya Raghava, the nayaka of Tanjore, double-crossed his allies and divulged their plans to Sri Ranga III. Tirumala in a desperate mood invited Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golkonda to invade the imperial territory. The emperor was forced to make a retreat to meet the fresh menace. He succeeded in defeating the Qutb Shahi army and securing its withdrawal. Perhaps the defeat of 'Kutupa-Sahu' mentioned in the *Ramarajivamu* refers to this event. By September 1645, his position as emperor was somewhat stabilized, which enabled him to renew the grant of Kowl, already granted to the English factors in the reign of his predecessor.

But this favourable turn of events did not last long. In December 1645, the three rebellious nayakas are said to have 'inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces'. In a letter from Fort St. George the situation in the early months of 1646 is succinctly described thus: 'This country is at present full of wars and troubles, for the king and three of his nagnes (nayaks) are at variance, and the King of Vizapore's army is come into this country on the one side and the King of Golkonda upon the other, both against this king. The Meir Jumlah (Mir Jumla) is general for the King of Golkonda, who hath already taken three of the king's castles, whereof one of them is reported to be the strongest hold in this kingdom.' Vellore itself was besieged

by the joint armies of Bijapur and Golkonda, and in 1646 Sri Ranga III had to purchase peace by paying a huge indemnity. The nayakas, sobered by the defeats inflicted upon them by the Musalmans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist their sovereign in maintaining the independence of the land. This brilliant prospect, however, was frustrated by the selfish policy of Tirumala Navaka. In his anxiety to conquer Gingee for himself, he invited the Sultan of Bijapur to oppose the move of the Sultan of Golkonda to capture it. But the generals of the two sultans came to an agreement so that the coveted fortress was occupied by the Bijapur troops in 1649. Tirumala was left without any recompense, and his folly ultimately paved the way for the ruin of the Vijayanagara empire and the imposition of foreign domination over the South. Once masters of Gingee, the Muslim armies easily overran a large part of South India, imposed a heavy fine upon the two nayakas, and deprived Sri Ranga III of his small remaining territory. Mir Jumla carved out a big jagir for himself in the heart of the eastern Karnataka, the remnant of the Vijayanagara empire. In the words of the French traveller, Thevenot; 'The King of Bisnagar ... was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly into the mountains.' The *Sivatatvaratnakara* refers to the loss of his capital, Vellore, and to his 'wandering without a home'. His appeals to the Mughal emperor for protection did not meet with any response.

Still he did not abandon the idea of reestablishing the empire. He secured the sympathy and cooperation of the chiefs of Mysore and Ikkeri, gradually built up his resources, and waited patiently for a favourable opportunity. This came to him in 1655, when Mir Jumla quarrelled with his master and left the South to take up service with the Mughal emperor. Without wasting a moment, Sri Ranga III emerged from obscurity and within a short time recovered a considerable part of the Karnataka. In order to spite Mir Jumla, the Qutb Shah appears to have given him every encouragement. Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri captured Vellore and presented it to Sri Ranga and received in return several titles and costly presents.

But this second attempt of the great Aravidu sovereign to rehabilitate the empire was blasted for ever by the jealousy and suspicion of Tirumala Nayaka. The latter was alarmed at the revival of the imperial power and the formation of a new league by the emperor to sustain it. He determined to wreck it at any cost, and invited the cooperation of the Sultan of Bijapur to serve his nefarious purpose. The Sultan of Golkonda also sent his forces to make conquests on his own account. Thevenot remarks that 'the King of Golkonda seized those (dominions) of the coast of Coromandal,

which lay conveniently for him, and the King of Bijapur, having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquest as far as the Cape of Negapatam'. In Father Proenza's letter of 1659, it is stated that '(the King of) Bisnagar, betrayed a second time by his vassal, succumbed in the contest, and was obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life'. He was, however, relieved from his wretched state by the timely help of Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri, who presented to him the districts of Hassan and Belur. The grants of Sri Ranga III in and from Belur relating to the years 1660 to 1663 show that he retired to this place after the loss of the Karnataka. It is not precisely known how long he lived, since some inscriptions refer to his sovereignty till 1678. With him ended the empire of Vijayanagara, although the names of a few scions of the imperial family find mention in stray records down to the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁴

The collapse of the empire was followed by a scramble for more territory and power among its provincial lords. They carried on ferocious wars against one another, sometimes in the name of their phantom sovereign, and thus invited their own doom. In 1661 the ruler of Ikkeri invaded Mysore on behalf of Sri Ranga III, but met with utter failure. In 1670 the Mysore army inflicted a crushing defeat upon Madura on the field of Erode and annexed a considerable part of its territory. Madura, in its turn, deprived the nayaka of Tanjore of his territories in 1673. But it was a temporary triumph. Venkaji (Ekoji), a brother of Sivaji in the service of Bijapur, sponsored the cause of the old nayaka family under the orders of the Adil Shah, expelled the agents of Madura, and finally founded the Maratha dynasty of Tanjore. In 1677-78 Sivaji conquered the southern dominions of Bijapur in the Karnataka and appointed a viceroy at Gingee to administer them. After the subversion of the Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties in the Deccan in 1686-87, Aurangzeb's chief concern was to acquire their remaining dominions in southern India. On the other hand, Raja Rama, the second son of Sivaji, established himself at Gingee to oppose this move with the help of the Hindu princes of the South. But the mutual feuds of the latter frustrated his designs as they had done in the days of Sri Ranga III. After a prolonged war, Raja Rama was dislodged from Gingee, and his only ally, the Raja of Tanjore, was compelled to accept Mughal suzerainty. A Mughal viceroy, entitled 'Nawab of Arcot', ruled over Karnataka. In 1736-38 Chanda Sahib, a general of

¹⁴ Kodanda Rama, a nephew of Sri Ranga III, is said to have defeated the Mysoreans at Hassan. It is not known whether this happened in the time of his uncle or later. The work *Ramarajiyamu* or *Narapatirajiyamu* was dedicated to him.

the Nawab, seized Trichinopoly and Madura. Only Ikkeri and Mysore saved themselves from extinction by timely concessions to their foes. The latter, after passing through various vicissitudes of fortune, sometimes almost bordering on annihilation, managed to survive as a relic of the once glorious empire of Vijayanagara till its merger in the Indian Union.